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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XXVIII

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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

XXVIII

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ELIZABETH COLSON, MAX GLUCKMAN
J. CLYDE MITCHELL

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Human Problems in British Central Africa

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Professor J. Clyde Mitchell

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This Journal, published half-yearly in June and December, aims to define simply, but with scientific accuracy, the social problems facing man in Central Africa, to record what is known of such problems and to report on research being undertaken and required in the future.

Contributions are not confined to research by the Institute's past and present staff: articles and notes are welcome from all those working in the field covered, or those engaged on similar problems elsewhere whose findings are applicable to the Central African field.

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2. The presentation should be uniform throughout, i.e. a system of headings, once decided upon, should be adhered to. The numbering of paragraphs or sections should be avoided.
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5. In the bibliography give, in the following order: the author's name and initials, date of publication, book title, publisher's name, town, date (only if a reprint or if the published date differs from the first date given). The author's name should be in capital letters, the title of the book in italics (see note 8). In the case of articles, the title of the article should be enclosed in single quotation marks and the name of the journal should be in italics. Official sources, such as Reports, Census, etc., should be referred to under the name of the official body (in capitals), date of report, title (italics), publisher or printer or official reference number.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

POPULATION densities in Central Africa have been discussed in several Institute publications. The authors of the books which have been published have of necessity set their sociological studies against the environmental background, whilst a number of our Papers have been specifically devoted to Land Usage. In these we read of population densities of 60, 80 and even 150 per square mile in Tonga Country (Paper 14, p. 26), 8–9 per square mile in the Eastern Province (Paper 15, p. 71), and from 6–11 in the Serenji District (Paper 19, p. 6). More recent works touching on this issue include Barry Floyd's article on the Southern Rhodesian Land Husbandry Act (Journal 25) and Charles White's survey of the Luvale Rural Economy (Paper 29).

In view of this interest in the subject, we particularly welcome Dr. Phillip Gulliver's article on population density amongst the Arusha, on the slopes of Mount Meru in Tanganyika. Here in the tribe's ' cradle area ' densities seldom fall below 1,000, whilst the peripheral expansion areas, averaging 127 per square mile, though thinly inhabited by local standards, are heavily populated in terms of Northern Rhodesia. The interaction of population density with social structure is a feature which sociologists cannot ignore and for this reason we look forward to further studies on the subject, particularly the book on which Dr. Gulliver is currently working.

Dr. Bettison's article ' Factors in the Determination of Wage Rates in Central Africa ' is in effect the second part of his work ' The Poverty Datum Line in Central Africa ' published in Journal 27. Even whilst in manuscript, this work was in considerable demand by both employers' associations and trade unions when engaged on wage negotiations. For this reason offprints of the two companion articles are being placed on sale together (see Institute Notes on Publications, p. 68). To permit editorial comment to appear in the offprint, this has been included with the article in the form of a foreword.

Dr. Apthorpe's ' Problems of African History ' deals with certain aspects of the social structure of the Nsenga tribe in relation to their history ; his fuller work dealing with this tribe, due to appear in our Paper series, has unfortunately been delayed but will, it is hoped, be in print in 1961.

Contributors to this Issue

P. H. Gulliver is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Research Associate in the African Studies Program, Boston University. He was formerly Government Sociologist in Tanganyika and Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology at Harvard University. Author of *The Family Herds*, *Labour Migration in a Rural Economy*, *Land Tenure and Social Change among the Nyakyusa*, and numerous articles on East African peoples.

David G. Bettison was born and schooled in England, but proceeded through B.A. to M.A. and Ph.D. at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. He had experience in South Africa as a welfare worker and as director of a Tuberculosis Settlement. He joined the Institute in January 1957 and worked mainly in Nyasaland and Lusaka. Arising out of this work he has already published a series of Rhodes-Livingstone Communications: Nos. 9, 11, 12, 16 and (jointly) No. 17. He is now senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

R. J. Apthorpe, D.Phil. (Oxon.), is a member of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute staff, and is at present engaged on a comparative study of African political systems in Northern Rhodesia. He formerly held the post of Research Secretary at the Institute, and has published several articles.

THE POPULATION OF THE ARUSHA CHIEFDOM: A HIGH DENSITY AREA IN EAST AFRICA

by

P. H. GULLIVER

ALTHOUGH for a long time a good deal of attention and concern have been given to various areas in Africa which are affected by increasingly dense populations and progressively severe shortages of land in peasant-like economies, relatively little still is known about the facts and the intensity of the problems or precisely how conditions have been changing. Demographers, economists and politicians alike continue, for want of anything better, to talk in terms of simple arithmetic, average densities derived from a ratio between the size of a given administrative area in square miles (sometimes not accurately known) and the number of people estimated to be living within that area. Little or no regard is given, all too often, to such critical variables as the amount of cultivable land actually available to the African rural population, or to local but most important concentrations of people within the administratively bounded area as a result of varying geographical environment or of particular historical, economic and political conditions, etc. Thus, for example, one of the best known African areas with a dense population and serious land shortage is Kikuyuland in Central Kenya. Commonly Kikuyuland, defined as the sum of the areas of three adjacent Districts, is spoken of as having a density of the order of 500 to 700 people per square mile. In fact because perhaps 50 per cent of the land is unusable in peasant agriculture (Humphrey, 1945, 5) and because some agricultural land is taken up for other purposes the effective density is at least twice that quoted, and locally even higher. This is not a paper calculation but rather it relates a rural population to the land which is actually available to it. Were it made clearer that in reality the Kikuyu live at a density of over one thousand people per square mile it would be at least one significant step towards a more genuine appreciation of the prevailing conditions. It would not, of course, clarify the whole picture because ultimately population densities can only be treated in the full context of the physical, cultural and economic conditions in which they appear.

The reason for the relative failure to demonstrate more clearly the reality of demographic conditions is primarily because of the inadequacy of the statistical data on given populations over a reasonable period, on the nature and extent of geographical movements of populations and on the areas and kinds of land relating to them.

In East Africa, as is well known, 1948 was the year of the first simple census with a claim to reasonable reliability. In many of the areas of dense populations—i.e. those areas generally with favourable climates and fertile soils—ecological conditions vary considerably but unfortunately not necessarily in conformity with the administrative boundaries which are used for census purposes. Not uncommonly an African chiefdom or other local government area extends over parts of two or more distinct ecological regions: for example, high cool uplands, warm wet middle lands and hot dry lowlands. Again, the proportion of land actually available for use by the African population of such an area varies according to the nature of the terrain, the amount of alienated land, forest and game reserve, infertile tracts, etc. To give a simple average density of population for these areas is not merely meaningless it is positively misleading. Yet often with the available results of the 1948 Census it is possible to do little else. Leaving densities aside, neither is it possible to state what movements of people there may have been from the crowded, better country to the sparsely populated, poorer land, or vice versa.

In Tanganyika in August 1957, a second enumeration of the African population was made. The same kinds of difficulties are encountered with its results in respect of calculations of densities and population movements. In that Territory this is even more unfortunate than elsewhere in East Africa, perhaps, because the areas of high density and serious land shortage are relatively restricted in extent being mainly on the slopes of isolated mountains or of small upland ranges such as Kilimanjaro, Mt. Meru, the Usambara, Uluguru and Poroto ranges. In those areas ecological variation is important for a descent of a few miles may mean radical changes in rainfall, soil types, length and nature of the dry season and so on—that is, in the natural attractions to human populations and in the ecological relations between social groups and their physical environment. From the data available following a second near-reliable census in Tanganyika, nine years after the first, it is still not possible to state with accuracy what are the effective densities of population in the various fertile and heavily populated areas where shortage of land is a most serious economic, social and political problem; nor is it possible adequately to estimate how the situation has changed, if at all, during the inter-census period.

In some Districts of the Territory in 1948 administrative officers took the opportunity, before passing on the completed enumeration forms to the central office, to make a rapid compilation of the populations of the sub-chiefdoms, headmen's areas or other local subdivisions in order to have for their own practical information data which would otherwise never become available. This was done in the Arusha District of the Northern Province and the unofficial record preserved in the files at the District Office. The official results of the 1948 Census as published by the East African Statis-

Sketch map of the Arusha chiefdom, 1957

Average Annual Rainfall in inches, e.g. 45·6, 43·9, etc. Administrative Boundary of the Arusha Chiefdom.—.—.—.—.—

- A Lower mountain slopes: traditionally occupied by the Arusha.
- B Peripheral region: colonized by the Arusha.
- C Common pastures of the Arusha: too arid for agricultural settlement.
- D Alienated land: occupied by European and Asian farmers.
- E The modern town of Arusha.
- F Forest reserves: not available for occupation by the Arusha.

African Population of the Arusha Chiefdom, Tanganyika, 1948 (Unofficial Results)

	Total Arusha	Arusha only				Grand Total ‡
		Males		Females		
		Men	Boys	Women	Girls	
1. Parishes wholly on the mountain slopes						
Sambasha *	2,622	543	685	702	692	3,531
Kidinga	1,887	469	433	476	509	1,958
Kimunyak	3,295	750	700	1,072	773	3,373
Siwandet	2,420	512	606	684	618	2,435
Olepolos *	3,479	552	1,115	637	1,175	3,515
Kiranyi	1,979	441	512	511	511	2,063
Kirevi	1,901	438	477	532	454	1,912
Ilmwandet	928	239	203	283	203	1,067
Lorowani	1,499	319	366	413	401	1,500
Kioga	2,145	520	504	624	497	2,157
Sokon Juu	2,842	565	739	798	740	2,902
Bangata	1,846	331	455	523	537	1,850
Sasi	891	194	226	232	239	894
Sekei †	2,287	451	663	594	579	2,493
Levolosi †	1,452	325	344	425	358	1,516
Sokon Chini †	857	217	186	250	204	1,094
2. Parishes wholly in the peripheral region						
Kisongo	2,141	421	570	591	559	2,218
Musa	1,941	426	522	488	505	2,065
Mweandet	1,507	295	400	371	441	1,554
Olkokola	2,388	452	621	646	669	2,403
Nduruma	339	99	77	88	75	1,063
Temi	0	0	0	0	0	467
Shambarai	8	0	0	4	4	326
3. Parishes partly in each region						
Baraa	1,157	221	324	322	290	1,415
Moivaru	1,170	201	333	273	363	1,295
Sombetin †	1,953	336	594	456	567	2,663
Sinon †	2,470	544	673	687	566	3,439
Olorien E.	1,640	392	391	453	404	1,950
Olorien W.	1,851	416	458	557	420	1,954
Totals	50,895	10,669	13,177	13,692	13,357	57,072

* Included in the parishes of Sambasha and Olepolos in 1948 were the Africans living at the Narok Forest Station and the Government Forest Station (Olmotonyi) respectively. The large majority of these were not Arusha (mainly Kikuyu) but they cannot be separated from the true inhabitants of these parishes.

† Denotes a parish bordering on the town of Arusha. The urban settlements of the 1957 Census were in 1948 still part of Sinon and Sombetin parishes.

‡ Includes non-Arusha Africans.

These figures were obtained from an unofficial review of the completed enumeration forms of the Arusha Chiefdom, Arusha District, Tanganyika, African Census 1948; cf. pp. 3–4. The official total of Arusha published by the East African Statistical Department was 51,455; thus the unofficial total was in error by −560 or 1·1 per cent. It is not possible to compare the grand totals in the same way because in the official publication there are also included those Africans who were, at the time of the Census, resident on alienated estates and farms which for census purposes were assumed to be part of the Arusha Chiefdom.

African Population of the Arusha Chiefdom, Tanganyika, 1957 (Unofficial Results)

	Total Arusha	Arusha only				Grand Total †
		Males		Females		
		Men	Boys	Women	Girls	
1. Parishes wholly on the mountain slopes						
Sambasha	2,283	543	502	667	571	2,290
Kidinga	1,704	372	397	454	481	1,716
Kimunyak	3,065	592	745	869	859	3,094
Siwandet	1,565	346	377	429	413	1,570
Olepolos	1,794	402	448	491	453	1,888
Kiranyi	2,257	527	563	642	525	2,289
Kirevi	2,530	592	586	668	684	2,576
Ilmwandet	1,196	257	326	242	371	1,215
Lorowani	1,842	372	507	455	508	1,878
Kioga	2,166	481	480	657	548	2,181
Sokon Juu	2,759	601	708	751	699	2,825
Bangata	2,708	554	667	772	715	2,773
Sasi	1,206	252	326	304	324	1,218
Sekei *	2,094	463	582	514	535	2,608
Levolosi *	1,557	371	356	432	398	1,858
Sokon Chini *	1,138	259	260	333	286	1,675
2. Parishes wholly in the peripheral region						
Kisongo	3,829	790	987	1,073	979	3,922
Musa	4,121	840	1,041	1,082	1,158	4,244
Mweandet	3,864	677	1,081	1,038	1,068	3,951
Olkokola	4,920	847	1,189	1,378	1,506	4,999
Nduruma	1,427	297	356	298	476	2,985
Temi	131	37	33	30	31	1,290
3. Parishes partly in each region						
Baraa	1,958	487	469	479	523	2,324
Moivaru	1,354	319	321	383	331	1,505
Sombetin *	2,317	504	471	597	745	3,082
Sinon *	2,682	642	636	721	683	4,345
Olorien E.	2,012	458	460	559	535	2,553
Olorien W.	2,136	449	549	636	502	2,253
4. Urban settlements (Unga and Engare Narok)	279	110	46	78	45	2,363
Totals	62,894	13,441	15,469	17,032	16,952	73,434

* Denotes a parish bordering on the town of Arusha.

† Includes non-Arusha Africans.

These figures were obtained from an unofficial review of the completed enumeration forms of the Arusha Chiefdom, Arusha District, Tanganyika: African Census, August 1957; cf. pp. 4 and 5. The official total published by the East African Statistical Department was 74,064; thus the unofficial total was in error by minus 630, or 0·85 per cent.

tical Department (1950, 1953) merely give the data relating to the two indigenous tribes of the District (Arusha and Meru) within their local administrative areas. There was no recognition of any subdivision although here is a classic example of the vital significance of ecological conditions and variations. Each of these two tribes lives partly on the exceptionally fertile, well-watered slopes of Mt. Meru between about 5,500 and 4,400 feet altitude and partly off the mountain in much drier country. These two regions are largely separated by an intervening belt of alienated land occupied by European and Asian farmers and by the modern town of Arusha. Quite apart from the failure to recognize these important ecological and therefore demographic regions, it is almost if not quite impossible to determine with any reasonable accuracy the portions of each administrative tribal territory and their areas which are effectively occupied by the native African peoples.

The official results for the 1957 Census (E.A. Statistical Dept. 1958) are of the same generalized kind and therefore with the same limited value in this connection. At the time of the census, however, I was, as Government Sociologist, engaged in field-work in the Arusha District—specifically among the Arusha people. I was able to repeat the procedure of 1948 and to make a preliminary examination of the completed enumeration forms before they were despatched. Totals were obtained for each headman's area (*embalbal*, hereafter to be referred to as ' parish ') of males and females with a breakdown for ' children ' and ' adults ' in each category. Note was also taken of non-Arusha Africans within each of the parishes. The boundaries of the parishes had not been altered since 1948 and therefore it was possible to make direct comparisons.

The boundaries of these parishes had never been accurately marked on any map nor were their areas known. During the course of field-work the boundaries of thirteen of these parishes were determined by walking round them in the company of the headmen concerned and a number of local residents. The boundaries are in fact well known to the people for it is of vital importance that they know with which unit they participate in ritual, jural and social activities. No more than the most minor differences of opinion were discovered between people of adjoining parishes and those were all satisfactorily settled. The boundaries were drawn in, at the time, on an existing 1 : 40,000 map compiled from aerial photographs by the Department of Surveys, or (for the lower altitudes) on the 1 : 50,000 District Map. The resultant areas so enclosed were then measured so that for the first time it was possible to calculate fairly reliable population densities which related quite specifically to significant ecological regions and even to different parts of a single region which had been variously affected by historical factors.[1]

[1] I wish to acknowledge the advice and assistance of Mr. J. E. Stoddard, Government Surveyor, Arusha at the time who checked both my procedures

In making this kind of comparison between two successive censuses it is assumed that the enumerations themselves were accurate. This is not necessarily a valid assumption. On the day of the 1957 Census I spent almost all of the daylight hours touring round a part of the Arusha tribal area, and the chief and an administrative officer toured other parts in order to keep a check and give assistance. On the whole it is probable that the results are the most accurate yet obtained, but the same degree of reliability was not attained as is expected in a western country. In this particular instance the enumerators were secondary school boys who had been given a few hours of preliminary coaching. Although they came from the local Mission secondary school, most of them were foreigners to the area and at least some of them were frankly afraid that they might be molested by the Arusha who, they thought, were a fierce, undisciplined, uncivilized people.[1] They were escorted on the day of the Census by the parish headman and a number of other prominent men whose responsibility it was to ensure that no homesteads were missed. A few, at least, quite certainly were missed but probably no more than 3 or 4 per cent. Most of the enumeration had to be carried out through interpretation between Swahili and the Arusha language. In each homestead, or cluster of houses, one or more older male residents detailed the total inhabitants as requested by age and sex; here there was almost certainly some forgetting; I personally heard of some afterwards and any field anthropologist who has recorded genealogies and village surveys is well aware of the common failure of informants to remember everyone at first enquiry. Towards the end of the day at least some enumerators, and their escorts too, were progressively more concerned at finishing than at being careful and patient. Many said that they were not prepared to spend a second night and part of another day. The final results, then, must be an underestimate of the actual population though the degree of error varied according to the area and the enumerator. I believe, however, that this represents an increase in accuracy in comparison with the 1948 Census. Many Africans commented that the 1957 procedure was more exhaustive and there are a number of stories of deliberate faking of results in 1948 which seem to be true and which do not arise over the 1957 Census. Certainly in some other parts of Tanganyika in 1948

and results. We are aware that the results cannot be entirely accurate because proper surveying techniques were not used; nevertheless we believe that the results are adequate to the purpose. I am also indebted to many headmen and other Arusha who went to a good deal of trouble to see that I made no mistake over boundary lines.

[1] Several of these schoolboys approached me on the eve of the Census day saying that they were afraid to spend the night among the Arusha. This they had to do in order to begin work at 7 a.m. next morning and they slept in local school buildings. They regarded the Arusha as equivalent to the Masai (the two are closely related) of whom there is a common African stereotype as a bloodthirsty, unpredictable warrior people.

guesses were made concerning unvisited, unenumerated areas of remote bushland, thinly populated.

Finally, the extraction of the figures from the completed enumeration forms was carried out with the greatest speed by an African tax clerk and myself, and we had no opportunity to check our results. Nevertheless our total figure for the whole chiefdom was 73,434 and the officially published figure was 74,064. This gives us reason to think that our unofficial results are adequate enough. Nothing is known of the unofficial procedure in 1948; the unofficial total of Arusha in the chiefdom was 50,895 and the official figure was 51,445, so again the results would appear to be satisfactory.

The Arusha Chiefdom

Within the modern Arusha District of Northern Tanganyika only a part is concerned with the Arusha people and administered by the appointed chief with the Tribal Council. The general boundaries of this part are straightforward: to the north is the lower boundary of the Government Forest Reserve of the higher slopes of Mt. Meru, to the north-west lies the boundary of the alienated farming area of Oldonyo Sambu, to the west and south are the gazetted boundaries with the adjacent Masai District and to the east is the tribal boundary between the Arusha and the Meru people. These boundaries confine an area of almost exactly 500 square miles but within them, in addition to the lands occupied by the Arusha, are approximately 160 square miles of alienated land (farms and the urban area) and 39·5 square miles is expropriated land given over to a Veterinary Holding Ground and not available for use by the Arusha. Thus the area of effectively occupied land is approximately 300·5 square miles.

The Arusha country contains two major regions defined in both ecological and historical terms. First, there are the lower mountain slopes of Mt. Meru (an extinct volcano, 14,978 feet altitude) which were largely occupied before the arrival of Europeans and which provide exceptionally favourable agricultural conditions. The inhabited slopes extend from the lower forest boundary at approximately 5,800 feet to an altitude of about 4,400 feet. Average annual rainfall ranges from 70 inches at the forest boundary to 44 inches at the lower level.[1] Precipitation is reliable and is moderately well distributed through the year. The soils are of volcanic origin and highly fertile. Surface water is plentiful and permits of a fairly extensive irrigation system for agricultural and domestic purposes. Crops are various, with the banana and maize as staples and coffee

[1] The available figures for annual average rainfall are as follows:—at the lower forest boundary (Narok Forest Station) 71 inches, at 4,500 feet (Arusha town) 48·6 inches, at 4,400 feet (Arusha Plantations) 43·9 inches. Figures are taken from *Summary of Rainfall for the year 1955, part 2, Tanganyika*; Nairobi, E.A. Meteorological Department, 1956, pp. 7–8.

and onions the main cash crops, and yields are high for African cultivation.

Secondly, there is the peripheral region which was formerly occupied by the mobile, pastoral Masai and has been settled by the Arusha only during the last two to four decades. To the south of Mt. Meru is an extensive area of flat plains which lie between about 4,300 and 3,500 feet and where rainfall averages between 20 and 30 inches. Soils are non-volcanic, mainly laterites, and much less fertile than those of the mountain slopes. To the south-west of the mountain is similarly dry but higher country on the western slopes of Mt. Meru and the eastern slopes of the adjacent Monduli mountain.[1] In both parts of the peripheral region the rainfall is not only considerably lower but is less reliable; there is a long dry season and surface water is absent for about two-thirds of the year. Not only is there no opportunity for irrigation but even drinking water for both humans and livestock is seriously short for several months each year. The only crops of importance are maize and beans.

For the Arusha themselves the two parts of the modern tribal territory are distinguished as 'the uplands' and 'the plains', although as noted the latter term is not geographically correct. Alternatively these parts are described by the people as the traditional country and the bushlands respectively, or as the country where the banana grows and the country where it does not.

The available figures of population and population density for the two regions are given in Table 1. These figures provide a sample of a little less than 50 per cent of the total population: although it is thought that they are probably reasonably representative nevertheless they do not derive from a completely random sample. The sample was determined primarily by those parishes whose boundaries it was possible to determine accurately during the course of general anthropological field-work among an unusually apprehensive people, much disquieted by their novel land problems.

The sampled populations show a density on the mountain slopes of 1,069 persons per square mile in 1957, and in the peripheral region of 127 persons per square mile. These figures, however approximate they may be perhaps, are more realistic than the simple arithmetic average for the whole chiefdom of 244 persons per square mile for 1957. It is possible also to obtain a clearer impression of the changes since 1948. A breakdown of these data throws further light on the situation.

On the mountain slopes population density varies considerably in the sample, from 813 to 1,499 persons per square mile in 1957. In general this range of variation is a response not to environmental conditions but to historical and social factors which are outlined in the next section. The higher densities tend to be on the more

[1] In the north-east of the periphery at 5,000 feet (Vicker's Estate) the average rainfall is 30·4 inches; in the southern plains at 3,500 feet (Oljoro) 24·8 inches: loc. cit., pp. 7–8.

TABLE 1

POPULATION DENSITIES BY ECOLOGICAL REGION, 1948 AND 1957
Total populations of Arusha and other Africans in the Arusha Chiefdom

Parish	Area in sq. miles	1948		1957		Per cent change 1948–57
		Population	Density	Population	Density	
1. Mountain slopes (10 out of 16 parishes)						
Sambasha	1·88	(not available)		2,290	1,218	—
Kidinga	1·84	1,958	1,062	1,716	933	−12·0
Kimunyak	2·98	3,373	1,134	3,094	1,038	− 8·5
Siwandet	1·93	2,435	1,262	1,570	813	−35·5
Kirevi	2·63	1,912	727	2,576	979	+34·7
Kioga	2·54	2,157	849	2,181	859	+ 1·2
Sokon Juu	2·46	2,902	1,180	2,825	1,148	− 2·7
Bangata	1·85	1,850	1,000	2,773	1,499	+49·9
Sasi	0·83	894	1,077	1,218	1,467	+36·2
Levolosi	1·48	1,516	1,024	1,858	1,255	+22·6
Total (excluding Sambasha)	18·54	18,997	1,025	19,811	1,069	+ 4·3*
2. Peripheral region (3 out of 6 parishes)						
Kisongo	37·53	2,218	59	3,922	105	+80·7
Musa	36·47	2,065	57	4,244	116	+103·5
Mweandet	20·90	1,554	74	3,874	185	+148·6
Total	94·90	5,837	62	12,040	127	+106·4*
3. Totals for Arusha Chiefdom (28 parishes)						
	300·50	57,072	190	73,434	244	+28·7

* The estimated change of total population on the mountain slopes is plus 4·4 per cent, and in the peripheral region it is plus 124·3 per cent. Cf. Table 2.

easterly parts of the slopes (Bangata, Sasi, Sokon) and in the vicinity of the town of Arusha. Although rainfall is rather better to the east (the monsoon winds are south-easterly) this does not seem to be important in this connection, and soils are of similar quality everywhere on the slopes.

The situation in 1957 can further be illustrated in terms of the amounts of land available to each farming unit. Among the Arusha this unit comprises the people of a single homestead—a man, his wife or wives, and children. Daughters leave home on marriage and sons establish a separate farming unit within two or three years after marriage. From surveys made in three mountain parishes the mean number of people per homestead or farming unit was eight. This mean figure covers a range of variations both numerical and

sociological so that it can serve only as a rough indication in this context. From this mean size it can be calculated that the average amounts of land available per farming unit in 1957 was 4·8 acres (0·6 per person), ranging from a maximum of 6·3 acres (0·8 per person) to a minimum of 3·4 acres (0·4 per person) in the sample parishes. This land is used for the homestead site, banana grove and arable land with some space retained as a grazing paddock. The mean farming unit also maintains at least four or five cattle and often a few goats and sheep which have to be fed off the land available either by grazing or by fodder crops. In general only small amounts of land are not usable on account of infertility, steep slopes or other natural obstacles, but of course land is taken up by paths and roads and buildings (stores, schools, missions, etc.) and their adjacent tracts. No data are available on this matter.

In this kind of demographic situation chief attention is often given to the dramatically high densities which seem to be immediately obvious in their implications. The data for the lower density areas—here the peripheral region—must, however, be considered not in crude comparison with those for the high density areas but primarily in the light of the natural environments and economic possibilities. In view of the much less favourable environment—lower and less reliable rainfall, poorer soil fertility, greater toridity—the lower population densities do not by any means necessarily indicate a less critical situation or a smaller pressure on the land in relation to an agricultural livelihood. There is no useful way in which population densities, or amounts of land available to farming units, can be related to the physical and cultural environment so that a direct comparison can be made with any meaning; that is, there is no way of constructing an index of ' population pressure '. The most that can be said is in general terms only. Firstly, in environments elsewhere in East Africa similar to that of the Arusha periphery, population densities are rather lower, often considerably lower; secondly, compared with the mountain slopes in economic terms the peripheral region contains at least no less serious problems and possibly rather more so. The range of crops which can successfully be grown is very limited in the semi-arid periphery and the potentiality for increased intensity of cultivation is poor particularly because of inadequate water supplies which can be supplemented only marginally. Yet in this region the density of population has increased and seems likely to continue to increase at least as rapidly as on the mountain slopes. The standard of living in the periphery seems to have remained more or less stable, or only slightly increased, in the inter-census period. Although population has continued to rise in several parts of the mountain slopes and has only slightly fallen altogether, simultaneously it is quite obvious that standards of living have not suffered; rather they have elsewhere risen and show every sign of continuing to do so even though population further increases. This is because new,

profitable crops have been successfully introduced and are still spreading; the range of crops is wider and increased irrigation is being practised. The principal cash crop is coffee which grows well and can be intensively cultivated under African peasant conditions; compared with other agricultural produce its price in world markets has been high since 1945, particularly in relation to the amount of land it requires. Onions, peas, beans, vegetables, tobacco and gourds are all intensively cultivated and, though less profitable than coffee, they find a ready cash or barter market. The staple banana grows readily and assures a main part of the diet. This is not the place in which to provide detailed information but by the external signs of types of clothing worn, the number of corrugated iron roofs, the number of stores and refreshment places open, the amount of motor traffic and the growing number of coffee growers there can be no doubt that at least living standards are rising more rapidly than in the peripheral region. Indeed a great part of the incentive to a more intensive and more profitable agriculture on the mountain slopes has been the increasing land shortage which has forced this enterprise on an otherwise reluctant people. They could not retain their traditional economy in the face of this shortage. The mountain people are most apprehensive about their land shortage and they have with much unwillingness abandoned their older, subsistence-based economy (Gulliver, 1961). Nevertheless they are changing their agriculture and they are cultivating more profitably and raising their standards of living: and they inhabit country which is most favourable towards the continuation of this even whilst population increases so that they are, at least for the moment, in a more fortunate position than their fellow-tribesfolk in the peripheral region.

Recent History and Population Movement

When the Germans took over the Arusha country in about 1898 the people were concentrated wholly on the south-western slope of Mt. Meru and above the 4,400 foot contour. During the nineteenth century it is reasonably certain that the population grew rapidly and the area occupied expanded as a result not only of natural increase but also of an inflow of war captives and refugees from wars and raiding on both Mt. Meru itself (the south-eastern slopes) and on Mt. Kilimanjaro fifty miles due east. The traditional mode of expansion was up the mountain slopes cutting away at the edge of the virgin rain-forest. At the end of the century expansion and settlement had reached approximately to an altitude of 5,300 feet. Fairly soon the German administration imposed an upper limit to further expansion by creating a forest reserve immediately beyond the highest settlements. During the chaos of the Anglo-German War and its aftermath, 1914–20, the Arusha were able to continue their upwards expansion before the British trustee administration established a new forest reserve boundary which was about two hundred

feet higher up than the original German one. This gave up to a half a mile or more of land all along the upper slopes. Not until after about 1920, then, was traditional expansion stopped. Population pressure and land shortage was not immediately perceived by the people, however, for there followed a period of consolidation in the already occupied lower slopes and some marginal expansion westwards around the mountain. All the circumstantial evidence such as genealogical data, accounts by Arusha themselves, and the histories of particular holdings of land, indicate that population continued to rise and by about 1930 the people began consciously to be aware of novel land shortages. They turned reluctantly and hesitantly to the only area available to them for further expansion and settlement—the peripheral region beyond their traditional country. This region had formerly been occupied by the pastoral Masai who had withdrawn in the face of Arusha militancy and German invasion. Immediately below the traditional mountain slopes the Germans alienated a belt of land to be made available to their colonists; most of this was retained and reallocated by the British in the early 1920's. A few Arusha had ventured in the 1920's to settle out beyond the alienated belt to the south (Kisongo) but such a move was most unpopular both because of the inferior natural conditions and because older men (the influential leaders of a gerontocratic society) firmly believed that this peripheral country should be reserved exclusively for pastoral purposes (particularly for cattle grazing). Sheer land shortage and increasing conflict among men who were co-heirs to existing holdings as the 1930's developed convinced potential migrants (principally the younger men) that even this poorer land was better than nothing. The weight of their opinion and their effective repudiation of their elders' authority were overwhelming. By 1938 the two government-appointed chiefs, who had opposed the migration, were actively condoning it and were attempting to direct and control it. During the 1940's new settlement rapidly increased and was stimulated still further by the provision of some piped drinking water in the north-west of the periphery (Olkokola, Mweandet).

Although colonization of the peripheral region had begun in the middle 1930's, nevertheless the period of the greatest movement of population was between about 1948 and 1955. By about 1955 virtually all available land had been settled within the administrative boundaries of the chiefdom, with the major exception of a low, arid area in the extreme north-west (about 35 square miles) still unavoidably left as communal pastures. Some of the land taken into cultivation was distinctly marginal in relation to the agricultural techniques and knowledge of the Arusha, and some serious soil erosion and loss of fertility had already occurred in the 1950's.

When the first near-reliable census was taken in 1948 the flow of migrants from the mountain slopes had not reached its apogee although it had been going on for more than a decade. Unfortunately

there are no worthwhile data at all before 1948 and it can only be said that practically all the people resident in the peripheral region in 1948 had moved there or were born there since about 1930. By the time of the 1957 Census migration was ended although there continued some individual movements in both directions.

Even with the more detailed, unofficial results of the two censuses (cf. pp. 3–4) it is still not possible to give more than approximate estimates of the two major ecological-historical regions because six of the Arusha parishes (the smallest unit of data) extend across the indeterminate boundaries between them. Rather than ignore the matter altogether the nearest *estimates* are given in Table 2. The designation of 22 whole parishes to one or the other of the regions presents no trouble at all. The total population of the remaining six parishes in 1957 was 16,062—22 per cent of the total for the chiefdom—of which 4,500 have been attributed in Table 2 to the peripheral region on the basis of personal knowledge of the areas concerned.

From Table 2 it can be seen that, for the Arusha alone, there was an increase of population in the peripheral region of 12,600 between

TABLE 2

ESTIMATES OF GROSS POPULATION CHANGES BY ECOLOGICAL REGION, 1948–57

	Arusha only			*Other Africans* *		
	Mountain	*Periphery*	*Total*	*Mountain*	*Periphery*	*Total*
1948 . .	41,900	9,100	50,900	3,800	2,400	6,200
1957 . .	41,200	21,700	62,900	6,500	4,100	10,600
Change . .	−700	+12,600	+12,000	+2,700	+1,700	+4,400
Per cent change .	−1·7	+138·5	+23·6	+71·1	+70·8	+71·0

	Total Population		
	Mountain	*Periphery*	*Total*
1948	45,700	11,500	57,100
1957	47,700	25,800	73,500
Change	+2,000	+14,300	+16,400
Per cent change	+4·4	+124·3	+28·7

* Over two-thirds of the 'Other Africans' living on the mountain slopes were concentrated around the boundaries of the town of Arusha in which most of them worked. The 'Other Africans' in the peripheral region were almost entirely confined to the south-eastern parts (Nduruma and Temi) in the vicinity of the alienated sisal estates on which many of them had first worked as migrant labourers before settling in the Arusha Chiefdom.

1948 and 1957. This is 20 per cent of the total population and comprises the natural increase in that period in addition to immigration from the mountain slopes. If we assume that the natural rate of increase was the same in the peripheral region as for the Chiefdom as a whole, i.e. 23·6 per cent in the nine years, then of the total increase of the peripheral population 2,148 is by natural process. Thus the remaining 10,452 represents the immigrants plus any of their children born during the period. At the same natural rate of increase these children would number about 2,000, leaving about 8,400 as the total of immigrants without making any allowance for an unknown number of deaths among them after they left the mountain slopes. This number of migrants amounts to at least 20 per cent of the total population on the slopes in 1948. During the inter-census period, however, the actual population of the mountain slopes fell by only about 700, or 1·7 per cent. The colonization of the peripheral region, hitherto most sparsely populated and rather more than four times the extent of the traditional mountain slopes, served in the nine year period to reduce the mountain population by this small proportion only. In fact some Arusha—perhaps as many as 1,000—emigrated outside the chiefdom and settled in various parts of Masailand, so that the extent of emigration away from the traditional lands was rather greater than the available figures show. With the average annual rate of increase of population at 2·3 per cent (as it was in 1948–57) then the slight reduction of population in the most crowded region was probably offset within a year of the second Census, whilst the peripheral density continued to increase concurrently.

Because of continued settlement in the Arusha chiefdom of stranger Africans from elsewhere the population of the mountain slopes has in fact increased slightly (by 4·4 per cent) in the period, but the principal area of such settlement was in the vicinity of the town of Arusha in which those people mainly worked.

The data in Table 2 relate to the changed situation in its broadest terms, but not all parishes on the mountain slopes were affected similarly. Reference to Table 1 shows that whereas some parishes decreased in population by proportions up to 12 per cent,[1] a number of parishes showed notable increases up to nearly 50 per cent. From other information this result was to be expected because not all parishes and their inhabitants had equal access to settlement in the peripheral region. The main migration after 1948 was to the western and north-western peripheries where new water supplies were artificially introduced by the local government. Although no overt legal disability prevented any people moving into those areas, in effect they were settled almost entirely by people from the western

[1] One parish, Siwandet, shows an arithmetic decrease of 35·5 per cent. It is highly unlikely that this is correct for there is no evidence to suggest that migration out of this parish was three times as great as from any other, even although it most probably was no less, for example, than in Kidinga—12 per cent.

and central parts of the mountain slopes. Similarly, continued movement into south-western and southern parts of the periphery was almost entirely from the southern mountain slopes. Only a very few people from the eastern parts of the slopes moved out, and there was at least some movement actually into those parts. The reasons for this are that in general people from the mountain slopes moved in those directions towards the peripheral region where they and their neighbours had formerly herded livestock, and men were strongly drawn to move to areas to which the members of their own parish moved. In some cases, indeed, for example in Olkokola in the north-western periphery, the available land was roughly divided up among the parishes of the western mountain slopes so that the lineage and age-group leaders of those parishes could assist in directing the flow of migrants and the allocation of land. Elsewhere a similar although less formal procedure was adopted, and it effectively debarred men of other parishes. The inhabitants of the eastern slopes are largely of marked alien origin, undiluted by 'true' Arusha. They are the sons and grandsons of men formerly of near-serf status drawn from the adjacent Meru tribe in pre-European warfare or in refuge from attack. Some of them still use the Meru language in their homes and most maintain lineage and ritual connections with true Meru across the tribal border to the east. They have therefore been disregarded and have been unable to exercise influence for their own inclusion in colonization of the periphery; being poor in livestock they had no traditional grazing lands in which to claim consideration. Indeed the people themselves say that they fear going to live in a more truly Arusha area and to sever Meru-type relationships and cultural ties. Because of obvious cultural attractions some other Arusha of recent Meru origins have chosen to go and live in these eastern parts of the mountain slopes. The people there are no less aware of the shortage of land and the economic problems involved, but they feel unable to follow the migratory remedies of other Arusha. On the other hand, with a weaker desire to preserve traditional culture and with the dangers of land shortage coming on them rather earlier than elsewhere, these easterly people like their true-Meru neighbours took to the intensive cultivation of coffee earlier and, so far, more thoroughly than other Arusha so that the economic effects of a rapidly increasing population were in the 1950's more than compensated for by the larger income and higher standard of living produced by this profitable cash crop.

In these eastern parts of the mountain slopes were the highest densities of rural population: figures of 1,499 and 1,467 persons per square mile were reached in the two particular parishes whose geographical areas were carefully measured. In those parishes there was little arable land remaining in 1958 for each man's holding is devoted to coffee, bananas, homestead site and as large a grass paddock as possible relative to the numbers of animals owned. Taking into account the land which is not available to individual

holdings it would appear that a homestead-unit of six to eight people has about three acres of land or perhaps rather less.

On the outskirts of the town of Arusha, but beyond the gazetted boundaries of it, population densities are even higher, but many of the inhabitants are non-Arusha, urban workers occupying small residential plots and not dependent on or engaged in agriculture. A survey of a small area of 52 acres to the immediate north-east of the town boundary in 1955 by Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke revealed a density equivalent to 2,040 people per square mile; excluding the urban workers the equivalent density among the rural population was 1,200 people per square mile. This above-average rural density is probably the result of the expropriation of land in the parish concerned for the purposes of urban expansion.[1] Many Arusha who lost their land because of this action sought to borrow land and to resettle outside the new town limits but in the same parish.

Modification of High Density Conditions

The simple dichotomy between the mountain slopes and the lower, peripheral region and the figures of population density for them are complicated and affected by the fact that some people resident in a mountain parish also have the use of arable land in a peripheral area, and vice versa. In so far as the mountain people are able to relieve their land shortage by cultivating elsewhere so the simple density figures are misleading. Naturally this question cannot be examined from the census data. During the course of general anthropological surveys some information was obtained in a number of parishes in 1957 and 1958. The figures for duplex holdings are given in Table 3, and they indicate that about one man, or a little more, in ten in either region had land under cultivation in the other. Because the surveys did not cover the whole of the landholding populations of these parishes it is not possible to weight the figures correctly and thus obtain a more accurate, general figure. The number of people on the mountain slopes was roughly twice the number in the periphery, and therefore the number of mountain cultivators who were supplementing their local holdings of land with fields in the periphery was roughly twice the number of periphery cultivators with fields on the mountain. To this extent the severity of land shortage in some mountain areas was probably being ameliorated at that time; no data are available, but it was clear that very few men of the eastern parts of the mountain slopes had duplex holdings. For the inhabitants of the peripheral region the land and economic conditions were, of course, worsened by this disparity of duplex holdings, and in view of the potentially more difficult situation in the periphery (cf. pp. 11, 12, 13) this is important.

[1] Some of the expropriated land was used to create a golf course for the adjacent European club. Alternative land accommodation was not provided for the affected Arusha.

TABLE 3

DUPLEX LAND HOLDINGS

Parish	*Total landholders*	*Landholders also cultivating in the other region*	
		No.	*Per cent*
1. Mountain slopes			
Sambasha	121	7	6
Kidinga	294	20	7
Kioga	188	19	10
Kimunyak	180	19	11
Kirevi	96	17	18
Total	879	82	
2. Peripheral region			
Mweandet	105	9	8
Olkokola	214	24	11
Kisongo	227	32	14
Total	546	65	

N.B. Only in the cases of Kidinga were all the landholders of a parish included in the survey. The total of landholders in the other parishes is not known.

It is not easy to say whether duplex land holding is a temporary condition resulting from the immediately preceding large-scale colonization of the periphery. Certainly some men at that time obtained land in a peripheral area although they continued to live and cultivate on the mountain; in such cases the duplex holding is almost inevitably split up on the holder's death when his sons inherit severally, and so these cases will disappear. Many of the cases are simple instances of exchange between two men, one on the mountain and one in the periphery, for their mutual advantage and this kind of thing may well persist. It allows the periphery dweller to cultivate bananas or coffee or to obtain an in-between harvest of maize; conversely the mountain-dweller is able to put some of his livestock in the periphery and also to obtain an in-between harvest himself for the main harvest on the mountain is in about February and that in the periphery is about August. In addition wealthy men in either region attempt to purchase some land in the other for this kind of reason.

Another complicating factor arises because some inhabitants of the mountain slopes keep surplus livestock in the peripheral region, either at the homestead of a kinsman or friend who lives there or in a special stock camp in the remaining communal pastures on the

edge of Masailand. By ' surplus ' is meant those animals which are not immediately required for milking or draught purposes. Where the ' surplus ' is small, i.e. one or two cattle and a few goats, men seldom bother to send them elsewhere because of the practical difficulties of keeping check on them away from the homestead. With rather less than one head of cattle and one head of small stock per human being in 1957 only a small minority of men have a large enough ' surplus ', and many of those who do, already live in the peripheral region for that very reason. In the only parish for which data were obtained (Kidinga) about 10 per cent of homestead heads had some livestock in the peripheral region in 1958—i.e. animals which were not currently dependent on the land held by their owners on the mountain. There is no reverse process in this matter for men in the periphery do not put animals on the mountain slopes.

Another possible outlet for ' surplus ' animals, and thus a reduction of pressure on the land, is in Masailand, the pastoral country surrounding Mt. Meru. Exceedingly few Arusha are able to keep animals there because it requires a high degree of friendship and mutual trust with a Masai man if it is to be accomplished. Few Arusha feel able to do this and in Kidinga parish none at all did in 1958.

Conclusions

The data presented in this paper are aimed at giving a more realistic account of the relation between population and the land actually available for its occupation and use. They result from a breakdown of the figures of two successive censuses which is not normally available, the measurement of small, local areas and the calculation of densities in them, and the recognition of two clearly marked, major ecological regions. These data have been briefly related to historical and social conditions.

Although it is suggested that by the procedures described in this paper a more accurate appreciation of the actual conditions and changes is possible, nevertheless there are, of course, still many factors pertinent to the issues involved about which information is lacking. Firstly, in the calculation of local densities and changes it is still not known what proportion of land is not available for the use of the inhabitants of a locality. Although among the Arusha, particularly on the mountain slopes, this is a less critical feature than among, say, the Kikuyu or in a South African native reserve because relatively little of Arusha country is infertile or so steeply sloping or so badly eroded that cultivation is impossible and the land useless, nevertheless even here it is not a matter that should be ignored. Secondly, the accuracy of the basic census data is open to some doubt (cf. pp. 6–7) so that at best the results obtainable with their use are approximate rather than definitive. Thirdly, there are no data at all relating to birth, death and fertility rates and we are forced back to an arithmetical calculation of average annual

increase over a single nine-year period. How far rates of change of population are affected by the major ecological regions is unknown, nor is it possible properly to distinguish between changes resulting from movements of people and those resulting from birth and death. Fourthly, in the present state of demographic and social studies it is not possible rationally to relate estimated population densities to the physical, cultural and economic environments in which they occur. For the Arusha it has been possible merely to distinguish the two major ecological regions whilst noting that the inhabitants are, as yet, culturally the same. Nevertheless, albeit dimly, it was indicated that the economic and social results of population pressure on the land were already more serious and likely to continue so in the less densely populated but much less favourable region.

The total population of the Arusha country in 1957 amounted only to 73,434 (unofficial figures) which is small compared with the total African populations which are currently affected by a progressive increase in population and by a progressive and serious shortage of agricultural land. Against the background of the south-east Asian peoples and lands those of the Arusha are tiny indeed. On the other hand, what has happened and continues to happen among the Arusha is typical in many significant ways of what is happening in many other parts of Africa about which data are unavailable (cf. also Gulliver, 1958 passim). Among the Arusha it can be said with certainty that in the more favourable conditions on the lower slopes of Mt. Meru the people were living at a density averaging about 1,000 persons per square mile in 1957, and even higher in certain localities as a result of certain historical and social factors. Further, it can be said that despite the expansion of the Arusha into a peripheral region some four times the size of the traditionally occupied area this has in effect done no more than just temporarily stem the tide of rapid population growth in the favourable region. Thus although more than a fifth of the 1948 population of the mountain slopes migrated out to the peripheral region, the population on those slopes in 1957 had decreased by only 1·7 per cent, and because of the immigration of stranger Africans from other parts of Tanganyika there had in fact been a general increase of 4·4 per cent (cf. pp. 17–18). Among the Arusha alone if the annual average rate of increase continued after 1957 the decrease on the mountain slopes would have been wiped out within a year. Without more land onto which to expand and, more importantly, some genuine alternative means of livelihood other than peasant farming, the pressure of population on the land will surely continue to intensify in the future. In the favourable parts of the country, on the fertile and well-watered mountain slopes, this intensification of pressure may well be ameliorated by increased agricultural production; this cannot continue indefinitely and it will probably hardly occur at all in the less favourable peripheral region.

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FACTORS IN THE DETERMINATION OF WAGE RATES IN CENTRAL AFRICA

by

DAVID G. BETTISON

Foreword

THE author of this paper worked as Sociographer at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for 2½ years from January 1957 to June 1959. In the course of his duties he undertook research on the Poverty Datum Line in all three territories which comprise the Central African Federation. In Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, he and the Institute team devoted a short period to work on behalf of the Plewman Commission, some results from which appeared in *The Report of the Urban African Affairs Commission, 1958*. The Northern Rhodesia African Housing Board requested the Institute to undertake work in Lusaka on many facets of African housing problems, rate of urban growth, housing preferences, capacity to pay rent and the like. It was this last-named problem that again involved Dr. Bettison and his team in a Poverty Datum Line study. Some results of this work have already appeared, in Rhodes-Livingstone Communication No. 16, *Numerical Data on African Dwellers in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia*. Finally a study in the urban and peri-urban areas of Blantyre-Limbe, continuing over two years, yielded much data in the P.D.L. and allied fields: results here are obtainable in Communication No. 9, *Cash Wage and Occupational Structure in Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, with some interesting peri-urban comparative material in *The Social and Economic Structure of Seventeen Villages in the Peri-Urban Area of Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland*, Communication No. 12.

The statistical material from these three studies, of which the value is enhanced by being conducted by one researcher backed by one team of assistants and following the same methods in three widely divided conurbations, has been presented in comparative form by Dr. Bettison in his paper *The Poverty Datum Line in Central Africa* published in the Rhodes-Livingstone Journal No. 27. A consideration of this material led Dr. Bettison to pose the problem 'Why should African wage rates be as low, relative to the goods and services they can command, as they have been found to be?'. In the paper which follows he endeavours to answer this question, on lines which are his own, and which do not necessarily reflect the views of the sponsoring authorities or of the Institute.

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THE DETERMINATION OF WAGE RATES

By the term ' wage rates ' is meant the real wage that sections of the total community, which can be isolated by race or occupation, are paid as a group. It is clear from observation of daily affairs that wage rates are connected as much with social as economic phenomena. Economic theory supplies a number of hypotheses—supply and demand, marginal utility, iron laws—and possibly many others. Yet, as will be seen, these are comprehensible only within the living matrix of human relationships in Central Africa. Philip Mason (1958, p. 257) writes of a convention ' backed by a vested interest. Native wages might be high or low within a limited range. . . . But the convention limited them to that range and the inducement for the exceptional man to get out of the ruck was thus sharply checked.' The East African Royal Commission (1955, p. 209) mentions something rather similar:

> In the early years of the present century the majority of Africans who worked in the towns lived permanently in the immediate neighbourhood, and a large number still do so today. They had, therefore, no need to hire accommodation or to buy food, and their wages served to pay their taxes and to buy additional articles such as clothes. As the economies of the territories developed, African members of tribes who lived a long way from the towns came to work for short periods and then returned home. Their wages were calculated on the needs of a single man, and this has remained the basis on which wages are paid until the present day.

These authorities provide the notion of custom and tradition, of conventional influences, in the determination of wages rates. The adequacy of wages, when compared with the P.D.L., showed them to be only slightly higher than what is required to maintain a single man at a minimum standard of health and decency. Before the turn of the century, at the earliest beginnings of European settlement, wage rates were designed to achieve little more. If rations were given a workman his cash wage was expected to cover his tax, purchase a few clothes and enable him to save perhaps a little to send to the rural home.

> Ten shillings per month [writes a Northern Rhodesian Commission in 1938 (p. 51)] is the normal wage for unskilled labour in towns and industrial areas, for carriers and for casual labour of the better type, including most of the casual labour employed by Government . . . Fifteen shillings is the ordinary rate for semi-skilled labour; artisans and motor drivers commonly start at this rate . . . Cooks, house-boys, artisans, builders, bricklayers and capitaos start at 20 shillings per month.

It may thus appear extraordinary, in the light of wage rates current before the Second World War, that real wages have not today increased much above subsistence levels for a single man. But I am not alone in this contention. Colin Leys (1959, pp. 25–6), referring to Southern Rhodesia, where cash wages are the highest in Central Africa, remarks: ' . . . it is difficult to say with confidence

that the real incomes of the great majority of the population have appreciably risen during fifty years of contact with the European economy.' Leys acknowledges his indebtedness to W. J. Barber who, using other methods than a Poverty Datum Line, arrived at a similar conclusion.[1]

Sociologically considered, one is faced with having to explain why, in the face of 'development', political and legal changes, and after perhaps sixty years of intense social change, African real wage rates have made little, if any, advance towards supplying the needs of urban families at Poverty Datum Line or higher standards.

The emphasis of this study is to be placed on the relationships between Europeans and Africans that have characterized Southern Africa for over half a century. Since assuming the dominant role in these relationships, the European has created a social system which provides both races with responsibilities, obligations, privileges, benefits and other reciprocal connections. One of the features of this social system the European has taken pains to control is the wage rate of the respective races. Wage rates and social status are intimately related.

In one respect the Central African Federation is well suited to the purpose in hand. It contains territories which have developed under two rather different influences, yet these influences do not appear to have affected the real wage rate over the years. L. H. Gann (1958, p. 175) correctly argues that Northern Rhodesia

> formed the meeting ground of two different traditions of settlement. Early North-Eastern Rhodesia in many ways resembled contemporary Nyasaland and Kenya, where most Europeans were government officials, missionaries or planters, where there were only a few white workers . . . Also the administrative traditions of North-Eastern Rhodesia were those of the Imperial Service. North-Western Rhodesia, on the other hand, could be described as an extension of South Africa to the 'Far North'. Many immigrants were South African born . . . Europeans entered this country not only as planters and professional men, but also as petty traders, as skilled workers, as non-commissioned officers in the Police; their outlook resembled that of South Africans.

The circumstances in which the earliest relationship between black and white were established have received considerable attention from historians. It is necessary, very briefly here, to examine at least the major social institutions in historical perspective.

Europeans who entered Central Africa were, on arrival, in the owner-managerial class with few exceptions. Men of the 1890 Pioneer Column and others who came later into Southern Rhodesia were given large acreages of land. Similarly, in Nyasaland the movement to procure land on the better watered and cooler highlands followed speedily after the arrival of the missionary. Yet

[1] Barber, W. J., *The Economy of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1930–55; a study in the Problems of Economic Development*, to be published. I have, unfortunately, been unable to consult Barber's work and am unable to assess his methods.

nowhere was the settler or planter rich (Gann, 1958, p. 178). In Nyasaland it is interesting how early land holders joined together to form companies for the development of their land. The individual self-developer was uncommon, due, it is suggested, to the lack of capital. He started from the bottom with cheap land, an improved technical ability and wider horizons of social and economic organization as his principal capital assets. The indigenous peoples were needed to supply labour. A working relationship between white and black had to be devised. From the socio-economic point of view, this relationship is best illustrated by reference to land settlement and use, the relationship between employer and employee in the towns, and the caste-like nature of social and racial differentiation in every major respect. For convenience these will be treated individually.

Land Settlement and Use: Two patterns of settlement are discernible in Central Africa. In Southern Rhodesia the concept of an African ' Reserve ' distinct from European settlement, was accepted. In Nyasaland the squatter, tenant or estate labourer became the traditional pattern in the limited area of European ownership or lease.

Northern Rhodesia has experienced a rather mid-way policy in respect of Reserves. They were formally constituted and have played their part in shaping events (Barnes, 1954, 130, and Allan, 1949, 71). But certainly in Nyasaland, and possibly in Northern Rhodesia, direct control of land by non-Africans was so limited as to preclude the full-scale development of African ' Reserves ' and consequently the socio-political notions they have entailed in the South.

In Southern Rhodesia the notion of reserves was accepted in principle from the beginning but its implementation was slow and characterized by hesitancy. After 1890 the Matabele were first allowed to remain where they were settled in close contact with the white population ' and no efforts were made by the Government to induce them to settle on the ground provided for them ' (Reserves Commission, 1915, para. 11). A similar policy was applied in the coffee estates around Blantyre, Nyasaland, where labour was settled deliberately on the undeveloped portions of large estates to make a seasonal labour supply available when required. A proclamation issued at the conclusion of the Matabele Rebellion in Southern Rhodesia in October 1896, ' provided for the location of natives upon private property, with a view to their maintaining themselves by their own labour under reasonable conditions of employment ' (Reserves Commission, 1915, para. 12). Africans were regarded as tenants and were frequently happy to enter into feudal arrangements with land owners whereby they could occupy land and till the soil in consideration for an obligation to work for the land owner at stated seasons or to pay an annual rental.

The problem confronting Southern Rhodesia was whether this

feudal relationship was possible under conditions where Europeans formed so small a proportion of the population and yet had obtained so much of the land, and Africans remained tribally organized.[1] An Order in Council of 1898 provided reserves 'for such native population as could not be satisfactorily accommodated on private lands' (Reserves Commission, 1915, para. 22). As was the case in Nyasaland, the European found it most convenient to have sufficient labour on his farm or estate for all his seasonal needs. A supply of labour so near at hand was not only accessible at all times but subject to greater control and easier manipulation than that in a remote reserve. Labour on the estate was unwanted only when it threatened the European's property or was likely to ignore his authority. There was thus a limit to its numbers and the surfeit had to seek accommodation in areas set aside for it.

In the Shire Highlands of Nyasaland, particularly in the Cholo district, the policy of encouraging African settlement on private estates—perhaps, in more recent decades, it was more a question of ignoring the settlement than encouraging it—had led to serious difficulties by the 1940's. The whole district, including the private estates, was by this time a congested area. The difficulty in this situation as seen by the Land Commission (1948) was whether the private estates should be taken over by Government for controlled African settlement or Africans be moved out of them.

Whether settlement was in reserves or on private estates the employer was relieved of any obligation to pay his labourers a wage sufficient to maintain himself and his family at standards higher than subsistence levels. The labourer's ties with the land—whether with the planter's or farmer's land or with the reserves made little difference—were such as to grant him or his wife access to a subsistence living from the soil. Wage rates could be established at the point where the employee earned sufficient to purchase clothes, pay his tax and provide a little for his family. If removed from his source of subsistence by employment on a mine or in a town, rations were supplied by employers to make good the loss and cash wage rates could then remain unaltered. A migrant's wife and dependents remained tied to the soil.

To be relieved of all obligations to employees, other than rations and a small cash wage, was advantageous to European interests. The African's ties to land achieved just this. So long as his home, his family and all save his work remained on the land he was suitable for the employer's needs. Wage rates could, and in fact were, established at the point where they supplied the

[1] The method of African tribal organization may have been influential. The Matabele, like the Zulu, Ngoni, Swazi, Basuto and Lozi, were well organized in a hierarchy of authority. In contrast, the Yao of Southern Nyasaland, the Tonga, Chewa and others of Northern Rhodesia where European settlement first started, were more loosely organized. It is probably more than mere coincidence that it was among the Ngoni of the North East of Northern Rhodesia that the earliest claims for reserves were made by European settlers.

essentials, tax and clothing, that could not readily be got from the land. In return the European was prepared to tolerate African inefficiency. His labour could not be worth less than the wage he was paid. Labour had, however, to be abundant.

The African has to be made to work. Mason (1958, pp. 217–37) is at pains to emphasize the labour shortage which dogged Southern Rhodesia—and Nyasaland also—for the first thirty or so years of European occupation. He writes:

> From the first days of the Pioneers to the end of the Kaiser's War, it was always the case that employers were looking for more labourers than there were labourers looking for work; this was an inflationary situation —in terms of labour—which ought to have produced higher and higher wages.

The coercion that Europeans were able to exercise over residents of the reserves through taxation tended strongly to remove the influence that a limited supply might have on wages in the face of constant or increased demand. The tradition of a subsistence wage had come to stay and methods of increasing the labour supply became increasingly necessary. It suited both parties to a limited extent (Watson, W., 1958, chap. III and pp. 110–12). It was easier to regulate supply than to tolerate changes in wage rates. Further, under conditions prevailing around the turn of the century, the African may have viewed higher wage rates as an encouragement for remaining longer in the reserves and thereby exacerbate the labour shortage.

To maintain this advantageous system of labour utilization it was essential that the European should gain complete control of political institutions. This included African occupied areas. He could ill-afford to let major portions of the area remain under African control and thus beyond the limit of his ' right ' to tax. An independent ' Bantustan ' was an unsuitable policy in the face of a labour ' shortage '. In Nyasaland the tax was applied to areas where European administrative influence was established and from whence migratory labour to supply the needs of commerce and government—for carriers especially—was obtained. Remoter areas of Nyasaland were largely ignored in the earliest years.

The official policy of the Government was frequently at variance with that of other European interests. The point is well made by Mason (1958, pp. 260–7) in his discussion of the theory on which the reserves of Southern Rhodesia were set up. The purpose of the reserves as seen by official policy up to 1915 was a ' temporary shielding of the African till he is ready for assimilation . . . it is nowhere contemplated that there should be a permanent division of the soil '. As the tribal system broke down, it was argued, and Africans became increasingly assimilated into Western culture, the Reserves should fade away proportionately. The Reserves were not to be areas of permanent isolation, nor were they ' to ensure that

in every generation every man should be entitled to a piece of land that would support a peasant family—a proposition absurd in Europe, but in tribal conditions taken for granted and still regarded by millions of Africans as embodying elementary justice and the first duty of Chief or Government '. Yet the existence of a piece of land to support a peasant family was the assumption supporting the African wage rate. It was accepted as axiomatic by urban no less than rural employees. It is not surprising that Mason had cause to remark:

> Day by day, in scores of trivial decisions reached without thought, it was assumed unconsciously that the races must be kept apart, that the African's true home must always be in the reserves, that all Africans would always be hewers of wood and drawers of water, above all that the interests of the two races were opposed.

The subsequent development of land allocation in Southern Rhodesia has been increasingly towards stricter racial separation. This has occurred in the face of rapid increases in the African population and largely since the granting of almost independent political status in 1924. From the Order in Council of 1920, through the Carter Commission of 1925, the Land Apportionment Acts of 1930 and 1941 and 1950 the policy has been—to use the words of the Carter Commission to express it (para. 63):

> However desirable it may be that members of the two races should live together side by side with equal rights as regards the holding of land, we are convinced that in practice, probably for generations to come, such a policy is not practicable or in the best interests of the two races, and that until the Native has advanced very much further on the paths of civilization, it is better that the points of contact in this respect between the two races should be reduced . . .

The reduction in the points of contact between the two races in effect assured the maintenance of the ' plural society '. An ' advance on the paths of civilization ' on the African's part would challenge the satisfactory status quo from the European's point of view. If African advancement in any way challenged his relationship to the land the economic interests of the two races were supposedly opposed. Conversely, the retention of peasant agriculture in the rural area and a subsistence wage rate in towns could be little better designed to retard the ideal of African advancement ' on the paths of civilization '.

In conclusion it must be remarked that the European farmer or settler had no cause to question traditional wage rates. In Central Africa generally he had obtained rights to an acreage of land he could never cultivate intensively. There was a well-established belief, which was probably true initially and for the early decades of the century, that ranching was the only profitable type of farming. Colin Leys (1959, p. 29) quotes the Report of the Select Committee on the Development of Unimproved Land, 1957, as saying ' . . . the

present percentage of total European-held land under crops, that is to say, approximately from three to four per cent, is deplorably low'. The tea planters of Nyasaland, although governed to some extent by soil and rainfall, were handicapped by a lack of capital to extend the relatively small portion of their holdings that were worked intensively. Being governed largely by world raw material prices, farmers everywhere were reluctant to raise wages in boom times for fear of narrowing the gap between costs and prices too closely in poorer times. They also had no incentive to encourage a local consumer market as the farming techniques required to supply it were different from those they practised and the maintenance of social status without a large farm was an untried proposition.

In effect no policy would be better suited to the interests of the agriculturally oriented European settler and planter than the reserves or tenant cultivators. The implementation of the Carter Commission's recommendations ensured the maintenance in Southern Rhodesia of a system already well entrenched by 1925. African wage rates were to remain at subsistence levels. In Nyasaland, where the tenant system of settlement operated, the Jackson Commission wrote (1920, p. 5):

> We believe that the institution of Native Reserves, by which we mean the collection of large numbers of Natives in defined areas would be an unwarrantable interference with the free occupation by the people of their native land and would in addition be totally unsuited to their manner of life.

Later, (p. 14) it writes:

> . . . the general practice on agricultural estates in the districts of Blantyre and Zomba is that the tenant works for a certain period for his landlord in return for his rights of residence. We do not see how this practice can be abolished, nor, in our opinion, is it objectionable if it is regularized by law and strictly supervised in its operation.

The feudal principles had become well established.

The Relation Between Employer and Employed: The formal character of employer-employee relationship was contractual. In both rural and urban areas the employment of Africans rested on contractual obligations applicable to both parties. The Master and Servants Acts, or their equivalents, were aimed at providing some security and a minimum standard in the provision of essential needs to the African; concurrently they attempted to guarantee the employer the services of his employee for an agreed time. Criminal sanction was applied, in certain instances, as an additional inducement to the proper carrying out of the contract.

The provision of essential needs, particularly that of accommodation, was simple for farmers or planters with land available for African settlement. The traditional simple type of African house would be provided by the employer, or the employee permitted to

construct his own. Many of the old established firms in Limbe and Blantyre provided accommodation for their permanent as well as their seasonal labour. From the Government's point of view it was necessary to see to the enforcement of the employer's obligation to provide a given minimum standard of accommodation. Administration was simplified by encouraging a direct relationship between employer and employee in the form of accommodation tied to the job. Only work-seekers were then the responsibility of a governmental agency, either local or central.

The growth of industrial and commercial urban areas complicated the direct relationship between employer and employee in two ways. Growth meant the introduction of building and engineering firms whose local interest might be temporary and thus unprepared to invest capital in permanent accommodation for African employees. Similarly, agencies and numerous small scale enterprises in the urban area were averse to spending capital on African services, even if they possessed land on which to place them. It was convenient for them to pay employees a higher wage on the understanding that employees were themselves responsible for their needs. This tended to remove the direct character of employer-employee relationships in so far as the employee's needs were concerned. It became necessary for government of some kind to accept responsibility for workers in general. This tendency was enhanced by the presence of Africans seeking to settle in the urban area without reference to any particular employment. An urban way of life was in itself adequate, without reference to a specific employer, as an inducement to leave the reserve or village.

Secondly, Africans resident in the urban area were a threat to land values in the areas surrounding their homes. It became increasingly necessary to concentrate Africans in areas of known size and ecological siting. This need was of little consequence when males only had to be provided for. Their density of residence could be increased to the point where their effects on land values were reduced to a minimum. Administration of this type of resident was relatively simple. Philip Mason (1959, p. 268) argues that the municipal location was

> based on the assumption that every African had a permanent home in the reserve, where his wife and children could support themselves while he was away; he came temporarily to the town to work, or might for a short time bring his wife for a visit, but this could never be his home, he would never be a permanent town-dweller.

So long as his urban connections could be viewed as temporary, the standard of his accommodation and the services he enjoyed might also be viewed as impermanent. The denial of African representation on local authorities removed the only direct pressure group from the authority capable of improving the standard of African urban suburbs. The improvement in standards that has in

fact occurred in many cities and towns has emanated more from the moral conscience of Europeans and from fear of the threat to the public health that slums constitute generally than from direct pressure from the African himself. The payment of a wage based upon subsistence denied the possibility to the majority of Africans of developing their own services. Land values in the vicinity of cities were too high to allow the African household sufficient land to cultivate the soil in support of his wage. In Blantyre-Limbe only had this possibility any chance of success (Bettison, unpublished).

African urban living conditions could be justified by the Europeans on the grounds that Africans themselves rarely complained of them or asked for improvements. Both white and black came to accept the difference in living standards as part of the everyday affairs of urban life. Much of the differential services offered to white and black in South Africa is justified on the grounds that Africans have a different standard of living from Europeans and hence need only a fraction of the pension and other services offered the European. The urban environment itself—no less than the reserve or estate village—assisted in the creation of an attitude that differentiated white from black. Any African anxious to remove himself from his allotted status was in danger of being viewed as an agitator or an aspirant to things he had no right to.

The conflict between the European worker with White status to maintain and the aspirant African was present from the beginning of employer-employee relationships. Gann (1958, p. 160) writes of Northern Rhodesia ' . . . some of the urbanized Africans began to compete with Europeans. In 1910 the *Livingstone Mail* complained that African shop-keepers were doing better than Europeans, and there was also opposition from the white artisan to the employment of native craftsmen at low wages along the railway line '. The effects were the introduction of an administrative colour bar in Northern Rhodesia in 1910, and a limited urban residential segregation in 1914 (Gann, pp. 161–3). In Southern Rhodesia measures to this end were instituted even earlier.

I do not intend to examine the reasons for the almost complete failure of collective action on the part of workers, whether white or black, to raise the wages of African workers. The fact is that with the possible exception of individual cases, one of which will be discussed later, collective action to date has not brought about the result it might be expected to achieve.

The concentration of urban growth largely in the southern portions of Africa—in the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia—has had a marked influence on Central Africa as a whole. Wages have tended to be higher in the South than in the North. Higher wages in the South were viewed as a justification for lower wages in the North. The greater attachment of workers to the land in the Northern Territories, especially Nyasaland, was convenient as it further justified the lower wage. During research

in Blantyre-Limbe in 1957–8, I was frequently reminded by employers that employees in Blantyre-Limbe lived the major part of their life in an agricultural village or could obtain cheap food from relatives in a village, and therefore required a much lower wage than workers in Southern Rhodesia. The same attitude was adopted by the Nyasaland Department of Labour, though for somewhat different reasons. The Annual Report of this Department for 1952 (para. 42) reads

> . . . labourers are in a position to greatly increase their earnings in Nyasaland itself both by more regular attendance at work and by taking advantage of the bonuses offered for undertaking more work than the normal task which is very low by any standards. In addition much higher rates of wages are available in neighbouring territories for those who are willing to emigrate, and free travel facilities exist to get them there.

With regard to more skilled types of work the report comments: ' Demand exceeds supply, and bearing in mind the ease with which such workers can obtain well paid employment outside the Protectorate, there seems at this stage little need for wage-protection in their case '.

The opening up of Central Africa as a reservoir of labour for industrial areas in the South played its part in enabling supply to be controlled rather than wage rates to fluctuate in sympathy with the state of supply and demand. The North and South formed equal weights on the see-saw of African real wage rates.

Once established, the conventional wage rate need only be maintained. By 1929 senior administrative officials were in a position to commence their annual reports with statements about the static nature of socio-economic events. An example is that of the Report for 1929 of the Chief Native Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia (C.S.R. 14—1930, p.1) who opens his remarks: ' More or less superficial observation of the native population during the past year leads to the conclusion . . . that it is almost in a static condition; . . . no outside influence has been sufficient to stir it visibly.' Yet in the following paragraph it is admitted that

> The problems of the Union of South Africa, especially those of the industrial sort, have their repercussions in the Colony, mainly in the formation of societies and associations and in (mostly) abortive attempts at religious separation. The Industrial and Commercial Union has its emissaries who are very active to promote discontent among native workers at industrial centres. The methods employed (borrowed from the South) are those of agitators in Hyde Park, and consist in denouncing the Government, the laws, the European and native officials, European employers and the wages paid by them.

The ' menace ' of this type of protest—which attacked the whole institutional structure of the existing order—was appreciated by the Commissioner. He remarks: ' . . . it has dangerous possibilities, chief of which is the spreading of a contempt for law and order into

the presently quiet and contented homes of the people.' The African had two avenues open to better the conventional wage rates to which he was subject. He could educate himself and thereby join the ranks of clerical and professional men. This was largely a personal method of overcoming poverty. To the present time, it cannot be viewed as a mass means due to the scarcity of school accommodation in certain standards and the non-availability of posts commensurate with education achieved. In passing it should be recorded that the Southern Rhodesian Government as early as the late 1920's viewed African education as vital to the solution of the African ' problem '. Referring to the passing of the ' Native Development Act, 1929 ', the Director of Native Development remarked (C.S.R., 13, 1930, p. 5): ' The horizon conceived as educational has now broadened, and with the liberal basis of co-operation to give it effect. Native Education is now conceived anew as being co-extensive with Native life.' But the Director, perhaps paradoxically, was realistic in his predictions for the future. He remarks: ' . . . it may be regarded as a verbal gesture of an impractical or dangerous nature, one section probably regarding it as of little danger because impractical, whilst the other section fears that it may become more and more practical and hence proportionately more and more dangerous.'

As an alternative to education, Africans could organize themselves into trade unions or pressure groups and thereby enforce a modification of the institutions inhibiting their status and limiting their wealth. The Commissioner's remarks in the previous paragraph show that experiments in this direction were under way early in the 1920's.

The Copper Mines of Northern Rhodesia have frequently been singled out as examples *par excellence* of the differential wage paid to Europeans and Africans. Despite this there is a further point of contrast too often ignored. The Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines Year Book (1956, p. 25) shows that the lowest paid grade of African mine workers received in 1956 the sum of £8 15*s.* 0*d.* per month as basic wage, i.e. excluding Bonuses, Cost of Living Allowances, etc., which in 1956 added a further 47*s.* 2*d.* In contrast the average African wage in 1957/8 in Lusaka was approximately £7 2*s.* 6*d.* The lowest recorded was a little over a pound. In December 1958, figures kindly supplied by the N.R. Department of Labour showed that the average wage for Africans not in mine employment in Luanshya was somewhat over £6. These differences between mine and non-mine wage rates, it may be argued, are due to the ability of the mining companies to pay more when copper prices have been favourable. But that is not all.

For some years the Mining Companies have adopted a policy designed to rationalize the use of African labour. Extensive use has been made of induction schools lasting four weeks for surface and three for underground workers. An African advancement

scheme was agreed to between the Companies and the European Mine Workers' Union in September 1955, and proved partially successful. Mine labourers are subjected to aptitude testing. The methods of management as much as those of labour are subject to continuous scrutiny. The presence and activities of the African trade unions in conjunction with a liberal policy on the part of management have created a wage rate no longer based upon subsistence principles.[1] Though still socially determined—as the approval, after a bitter struggle, for the African Advancement Scheme coming from both management and the European Mine Workers' Union well illustrates—African wage rates are no longer based entirely on questions of living costs, subsistence or attachment to the reserves.

This is in marked contrast to the state sponsored Wage Boards of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The majority of workers throughout Central Africa today have their legal minimum wage determined by legislative provision or by customary procedures—as in Northern Rhodesia where no minimum wage legislation of a general character exists. Relatively few are governed by agreements relevant to a specific industry. Thus it is the Wage Advisory Boards, or customary procedures at the time of a worker's appointment, which today set the over-all level of wage rates. The various methods whereby employers, employees and government are brought together on matters of wages generally, or specifically in any industry, is not our concern in this paper. The principles upon which wage boards currently base their decisions are more important. Unfortunately there is particularly little evidence available on this point. The Wage Boards do not publish annual reports, their deliberations are generally in private and their recommendations to Governments are confidential. The annual report of the Nyasaland Department of Labour has for many years contained a subsection entitled ' Methods of Fixing Wages ', but these paragraphs merely indicate the machinery whereby wages are fixed rather than the principles involved in fixing them.

A clue to the principles is given in the annual report of the Nyasaland Labour Department, 1955 (para. 39), where the provisions of a minimum wage order effective from 1st May 1954 are described. The wage involved at that time was 1*s.* per day in rural areas and 1*s.* 4*d.* in townships, but, ' if the employer supplies rations sufficient for the worker's whole daily food needs he is entitled to deduct 5*d.* per day in the townships or, in other areas, 3*d.* per day '. The

[1] To what extent this phenomena is due to the activities of trade unions and/or to the connection between the financial arrangements for the mining of gold in South Africa and copper in Northern Rhodesia cannot be discussed here. It is relevant to observe, however, that the Witswatersrand gold mines, faced with the problem of rising costs and a fixed price for the commodity produced, have for decades had to consider the rational application of labour to production. This fact may well have influenced the decision of the Copper Mines to apply a similar policy in Northern Rhodesia.

emphasis on the value of the ration to the worker certainly suggests principles of subsistence, and the cost of subsistence, to be the fundamental determinant of wage rates. It is probable that wage boards spend a considerable proportion of their time discussing costs of living, changes in the costs of essential foods, retail price indices, etc. Secondly, the principle of a single man's needs appear to enter strongly into the decisions arrived at. As the amount of 5*d.* out of 1*s.* 4*d.* per day, i.e. over 31 per cent, was deductable for food in townships, it might be argued that as much as 10*d.* per day for food was required of a worker and his wife, leaving 6*d.* per day for the feeding of children and the other essential needs of all in the family (except rent which was the employer's responsibility). This cannot be viewed as a family wage.

The essential point is that current wage fixing decisions applicable to the general run of African workers, are still based on principles of subsistence costs, and on consumption units smaller than family type households. Decisions are made more on socio-biological than economic grounds. In effect this type of wage fixing machinery need do little more than what individual face-to-face contracts arrived at between employers and employee have done for over half a century. Northern Rhodesia, for example, has experienced rises in African commercial and industrial (excluding the mines) wages between 1956 and 1959 of from approximately £5 to over £7 per month. These have been achieved without any minimum wage legislation. It might well be argued that one of the purposes of minimum wage legislation is to enable Governments, as a deliberate policy, to raise African wage rates faster than by other means. The Carpenter Commission recommended this for Kenya, but it was never carried out (E.A.R.C. Report, 1955, pp. 156–60).

Under minimum wage legislation African wage rates are no longer fixed on conventional or traditional grounds. They tend now to be fixed on scientifically ascertainable, reasonably objectively defined, grounds. Every social survey or census which reveals the increasing degree of African women's participation in urban life is a further point in favour of a family wage. Wage rates become the centre of a number of cogent phenomena such as the ability to pay rent, transport to and from work, trade union and sick benefit schemes, etc., associated with town life. To the employer, scientifically achieved data, in the form of poverty datum lines, for example, may be viewed as a threat to the established relationships between employer, employee and wage rates. Radical and risky amendments to managerial practice and the general use to which labour is put are involved if the principles of wage fixing are changed. In contrast to this suggestion it must be admitted that at the Congress of Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia and Nyasaland held in Ndola on 11th May 1959, a motion was accepted which called for pressure for a higher minimum wage scale and better housing for Africans (*The Northern News*, 13th May 1959). It would thus appear

that the wish to retain the *status quo* emanates from sources other than the majority of members of the Chambers of Commerce. This point will be taken up again below. It is interesting that the Annual Report of the Nyasaland Department of Labour for 1955 (para. 81) contains the comment: ' Employers continue to maintain that personal contact is the best method of fixing wages for their employees and are disinclined to accept ways and means which might tend to draw workers together.' This is a recurring theme over many years. From the point of view of poverty, wages advisory boards at least open the door at official levels to an approach to wages more likely to meet workers' needs at reasonable standards. They tend also to define more clearly the conflicts between official government policy and the interests of management.

Official government policy, however, is itself on uncertain grounds. Though it is generally agreed that every encouragement to raising African wage rates, and hence standards of living, is desirable, governments are faced with two difficult problems. In the Northern Territories governments are the biggest single employers of African labour. Governments also employ labour, unlike industry, on a wide range of occupations from road maintenance gangs to professional men and over very wide geographical areas. Secondly, being a non-profit, public utility type of organization, dependent upon public taxation for its income, governments are least of all inclined to experiment with new techniques of management. Higher wage bills, they fear, must be passed on to the public in the form of higher taxation. They have few opportunities to experiment with the effects of higher wages on productivity and with the influence of improved supervision.

Thus, for very good reasons, governments themselves are likely to be the organization least inclined to favour stimulating African wage rates. Unlike the industrial and commercial interests centred in the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who can foresee a stimulated demand for goods and services from higher wage rates, governments can see little but concern in over-spent estimates, problems of supervision of scattered work groups and possibly higher taxation.

The practical proof of this argument is not easily obtainable. A study recently undertaken by the Northern Rhodesia Department of Labour does throw some light on the subject. In a study of over 176,500 employees (almost 70 per cent of the estimated African wage earners in the Territory) made up from the Copper Mines, Northern Rhodesia Government and industry, as at 30th June 1958, it was found that the average monthly wage paid by the different employers was as given in the following table. Northern Rhodesia has no minimum wage legislation. The daily paid Government workers are paid according to Circulars issued by the Chief Establishment Officer. It appears that these provisions are somewhat lower than those prevailing elsewhere, though a sample

Employer	*Size of Sample*	*Monthly Wage* s.	d.
Copper Mines	33,370	256	6
N.R. Civil Servants and Police	8,560	218	7
Industry	105,300	126	4
N.R.G. Daily Paid:			
On line of rail	11,320	113	6
Off line of rail	18,120	71	0

of the wages received by farm labourers would be a more suitable comparison with rates paid in areas off the line of rail.

This evidence is merely indicative that serious problems confront government in the raising of national wage rates. The duties of governments in particular make a more rational approach to the use of labour particularly complicated. On the other hand, from the democratic point of view, it is particularly incumbent upon government to take the public into its confidence concerning the recommendations and policies of wages advisory boards—a matter conspicuously lacking under present arrangements.

Social and Racial Differentiation: During the normal daily round of events, the points of contact between European and African are few. A European man will meet and will probably speak to an African man in the house before going to work and also at work. A European woman will address her domestic servant, tradesmen at the door and Africans at the office or shop counter if she works. Contact in the churches and its associations is possible and often occurs. But beyond this, inter-racial contact tends to be limited to persons engaged in special occupations which encroach upon both racial groups or is subject to occasional fraternization as at civic receptions, socially acceptable gatherings and other temporary and special occasions. Except in the missions and certain administrative departments, white and black tend to be isolated and the degree of association consequently limited.

In historical perspective, the European farmer or planter had little in common with his labourer outside the work relationship. The public administrator's work brought him into close daily contact with Africans of all types but his after hour activities were spent in the less strained social milieu of his colleagues and often of his compatriots. The 'we' group characteristics were largely ethnocentric, whether applied to white or black. These characteristics tend to be self-perpetuating unless modified by active and powerful social influences directing activity towards increasing amounts of contact. These influences have not been operative in the past.

The conditions necessary for them to be effective are that they concern the basic institutions of the social system. Had educational services at all levels been made racially homogeneous and non-discriminatory; had legislative and municipal councils, the executive and the judiciary been established on principles which brought the races together, and had the racially mixed marital union been socially

accepted throughout the brief history of European influence in Central Africa, the degree of social differentiation now present would have been considerably lessened. It might have been virtually impossible to create a racial parity in the officers performing their duties in these various institutions. The differences in the intrinsic cultures of white and black were such as to have made the application of this policy in the past almost impossible. Policies aimed at the ultimate integration of the races have been more practical alternatives. But such policies when executed over half a century leave a legacy of non-fulfillment and their ultimate application becomes increasingly difficult as differentiated associations grow in both their number and influence on the daily affairs of men. The attitudes that develop with them become increasingly centred on the maintenance of the differentiated *status quo*; they become conservative in character, and torn between the dictates of a conscience pricked by liberal ethics and the ease of practical expediency.

In many respects the most pathetic victim of such situations is the individual European who undertakes individually or as a participant in small groups—often highly organized, to demonstrate practically the good will towards Africans that is latent in very considerable measure in the European group as a whole. From the platform orator who denounced the criticism made by outside observers of the differentiated *status quo* to the kind lady who makes a point of entertaining Africans in her home, there is the ever present awareness that their actions are not affecting the really intrinsic character of race relations. Entertaining in the home and good deeds to the needy have an educative value to both white and black. They spring from the very centre of man's altruistic behaviour. But it is doubtful if they influence the fundamental issues of race relations at all.

It is particularly in economic matters that the influence of active Europeans could be most effective. Action to challenge the grounds on which traders licences and sites are granted; the training, opportunities and remuneration of skilled African artisans; the eligibility for membership of trade unions, chambers of commerce and other associations, and a host of similar enquiries and activities are more likely to achieve the furtherance of African interests than any other pursuits. Needless to say, such activity is not likely to be popular, but it will at least focus attention on the subtle, but very influential methods whereby social differentiation is implemented. In this respect, however, the focusing of attention on methods of implementing differentiation should not be assumed to imply their removal.

Professor C. W. de Kiewiet's succinct statement for South Africa is relevant to Central Africa also. He writes (1941, pp. 210–11):

> A high rate of income is more than a guarantee of a high standard of comfort. It is also an assertion of racial and cultural superiority. The denial to the native population of access to more skilled employment and

a better scale of life is both an economic desire to protect skilled labour against encroachment and an assertion of the superior worth of the Europeans . . . To European self esteem, concepts of native debasement, of inferiority and savagery became convenient modes of thought and useful bases for action.

Though in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland these statements might require some modification, at least in so far as officials and administrators are concerned, the psychological awareness of difference and of racial authority is ever present in all sections.

To the present, all governments in Central Africa differentiate between African and Non-African administrative personnel. Circulars are issued from time to time laying down the scales of salaries for African members of the civil service with prescribed qualifications. There has been some justification for this procedure in the past as the prescribed qualifications for different posts coincided accurately with those possessed by members of the different racial groups.

There are two rather distinct but related processes occurring in the integration of white and black employees in all fields of employment. Both these processes concern the ' closing ' of the so called ' gap ' between the wage rates of white and non-white. One process assumes that the gap may be closed by opening new avenues to non-whites in the range of wages between the existing rates for each group, i.e. in the gap itself. African wages will rise until they equate with the lowest of European wages with a few exceptional non-white infiltrating into the European range. The assumptions underlying this process are that European rates will not be affected adversely nor will the number of posts available at European rates be reduced. The second process is an attempt to reduce the wage rate of certain European occupations to a level where white and black can compete for them. This process emanates from the fact that wage rates for many posts held by Europeans are higher than corresponding posts in South Africa or Britain which has an effect, it is thought, on the cost of production in Central Africa. The process was mentioned by Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer (1956, vol. 1, p. 189):

> . . . on the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia, twenty-four categories of jobs previously done by Europeans, have, by agreement with the white union been handed over to Africans. Wages and conditions for these jobs have been fixed considerably below those normally received by Europeans, but considerably above those obtainable in the past by Africans.

Similar procedures are obviously necessary, from the managerial point of view, in the re-organization of staff on the Rhodesia Railways. Yet such a policy is inimical to the encouragement of European immigration, and a direct threat to the status of the resident European.

The measures described by Mr. Oppenheimer were achieved in a

large, well organised industry with a policy deliberately aimed at the economic, rational use of labour. Even here it was not easily done. As a general policy applicable to Central Africa, however, it would scarcely meet with so favourable a response. It is aimed directly at the status differential between white and black. As the lengthy and acrimonious handling of the 1955–58 amendment to the Southern Rhodesian Industrial Conciliation Act well illustrates (Leys, 1959, pp. 116–19), any move likely to jeopardize this status differential is a thorny issue for both employer and European worker. In the ultimate analysis European status depends on maintaining this economic differential. Residential land values, political posts, access to status associations, such as clubs and places of entertainment, are immediately involved. It is no accident that the Union of South Africa had to legislate in an attempt to remove the threat to European status which a challenge to land values (the 'Indian Pegging Act' and Group Areas Act) and social amenities (various enactments) entailed.

Modern Central Africa is no longer a place where a handful of European administrators are guardians of the Bantu. Under those circumstances a differential status between white and black had little effect on the African as his personal status was derived from African culture alone. Over the years the African has been brought into a new society where status is not entirely in terms of traditional culture. Today, at least in those aspects of life which are dynamic and powerful, status is expressed in terms of positions within the new society composed of both white and black. The growth of a differentiated social structure, patterned as it has been in terms of race, places an inherent limit to the part an African can play.

African leaders in particular are acutely aware of these limitations. So long as differentiation is maintained on grounds of race there is, to them, no possible means to its solution. There is little to be gained—from the point of view either of African leaders or European administrators—from urging Africans to concentrate their attentions on such things as an understanding of bureaucratic administrative methods, on the proper running of local government or trade unions, or on fundamental improvements in agriculture. In fact attention to these phenomena may be vital to the African and to the country as a whole. But, and this is the crucial point, they are seen as important only by the European, and particularly by the European administrator. The African interprets their importance largely in terms of what they can contribute to his own personal pocket. Their contribution remains relative to the overall status of the Africans in the general situation. For example, obtaining an advanced certificate in any given field may lead to an increase in the African's salary by placement on a new scale, but the status of the new scale remains relative to the total white-black pattern of differentiation. Thus such phenomena are not viewed as fundamental issues to be learned and mastered or as issues

affecting the country as a whole and the African's status within it. The web of social forces in Central Africa today is such that African leaders and those persons participating intimately in the new society interpret 'improvement' or 'development' only in terms of political advantage. Only this, they feel, will hasten the removal of the racially differentiated social system.

If this analysis is true, it follows that attempts to raise minimum wage rates, to introduce new and higher scales of pay for Africans in advanced positions, to open up jobs to Africans hitherto held by Europeans at higher rates of pay, and a host of other administrative and diminutive actions cannot in themselves remove the fundamental conflict in the society at large. They may relieve tension in any local situation, but the fundamental issue remains. It must remain until such time as the grounds of differentiation are changed.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

This cursory analysis of three principal phenomena—land settlement and use, the relationship of employer and employee in the towns and ethno-social differentiation—was necessary to describe the type of working relationship between white and black which was arrived at and has persisted in Central Africa. The study was oriented towards showing the social framework within which African wage rates were fixed and are maintained. They were seen to be social phenomena which derive their existence largely from the fact of racial dominance and subordination and from the need for the races to find some basis of economic co-operation. It is hard to escape the conclusion that any fundamental re-organization of wage rates and of access to land and capital, which the removal of poverty implies, must involve a corresponding re-organization of black-white relationships at all levels of association.

This conclusion has particular relevance at a time like the present when greater industrialization is under discussion and appears generally to be viewed as desirable. It is false to assume that industrialization inevitably involves the removal of African poverty. The process did not do so in nineteenth-century Britain nor has it gone very far towards doing so in the Union of South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. Increases in wages paid to Africans, particularly in isolated industries only—which often form the basis of generalized statements by businessmen—do not necessarily imply that real wages have risen proportionately. The Poverty Datum Line study (Bettison, 1960) shows that despite a considerably higher statutory minimum wage in Salisbury, for example, the African is not markedly better off in terms of subsistence than in places with a considerably lower actual wage rate. Budgetary analyses show the increased amount of money is spent largely on meat, bread, dairy products, vegetables and on drink and tobacco. The degree to which the African in Salisbury is dependent on processed or imported commodities is in part responsible for the relatively shorter

distance he is able to extend his means. A very large proportion of urban Africans in the three cities studied require a larger income to enable them to purchase the minimum essentials. There is every likelihood that an increase in wages would greatly stimulate the demand for a wide range of locally produced commodities.

There is no substance in the argument that a considerable increase in African wages would inevitably lead to higher per unit production cost. This argument holds true only if the present number of employees is retained with no corresponding increase in productivity per head. The ease or difficulty with which any industry could adjust to a substantial increase in African wages will vary considerably. The responsibility for doing so is largely managerial. It is relevant to recall that Australia—a country experiencing as great an industrial expansion as is Central Africa and with distances just as vast—has a minimum wage of between £8 and £10 sterling per week, depending on the State, and is able to produce commodities as cheaply or cheaper than Central Africa. It is clearly not the fact of development, nor solely the price of labour, that determines the cost of commodities. It is not my intention here to proceed to a discussion of the social components of production cost, but it does appear evident that the presence of a considerable number of persons living in poverty is no contributor to a reduction in unit cost.

Industrialization undoubtedly offers better prospects for a rise in real income per head in Central Africa than does agriculture alone. But social changes of considerable magnitude must accompany it to bring about the removal of poverty as a group phenomenon. Industrialization, in the absence of legislation intended specifically to regulate the status and pattern of authority between the races, will itself tend to close the gap between average white and black wage rates. But in a racially differentiated society, like that of Central Africa, there are distinct limits to the extent the process can be taken and the effect it may have on race relations. The fundamental crisis occurs when an African has to supervise, to engage as an employee, or in any form to give instructions directly to a European.

This fact is well understood everywhere in Central Africa. It is in fact the very heart of white-black relations. It is possible, as in Kenya and recently in Northern Rhodesia, to appoint Africans to superior political posts. The difference between political appointment and technical or administrative appointment within a hierarchy of established authority are sufficiently wide to avoid the social tensions that a racially objectionable appointment within a closed hierarchy of authority would involve. In Central Africa a person within this administrative hierarchy cannot aspire to democratically elected positions. His competitors for promotion are within the hierarchy itself. It is thus socially tolerable to have an African as a political, and thus extraneous, superior. Certainly in

the Northern Territories, government administration is likely to be the section most readily disposed to African advancement within its own hierarchy. But outside of government few opportunities exist for Africans to be appointed to superior positions. Membership of Boards of Directors of profit-aspiring companies is too competitive in the modern economy to facilitate an *ex gratia* entry of Africans. It remains largely for the public utility type of company, especially with government sponsorship, to open its ranks.

In more general sociological terms the difficulty at this level is to establish within a racially homogeneous group—itself organized with its own values, its own fears and competitors—a number of persons racially different and about whom the group itself has preconceived ideas and judgments. Each industry, profession, or residential neighbourhood is, or has contained within it, a group or series of groups of this character. It is this fact which throws considerable doubt on the applicability of the 'ideal situation' where a job is open to white or black and the best applicant receives it. In the past this has very rarely occurred, not only because of the paucity of suitably qualified African applicants but also because the colour of the applicant is important to the group into which he must move and the people with whom he must work. It is thus very relevant to the employer who is only too sensitive to the reaction of groups, as groups, among his employees.

In the absence of instructions from a higher authority the impetus required to make way for the entry of non-whites into a hitherto European hierarchy, must come from socio-economic forces within the society itself. Some of them are already apparent, e.g. the increasing demand for skilled labour in the face of a declining rate of European immigration, and to some extent the request by the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for pressure to secure a higher minimum wage and better housing for Africans. But such socio-economic forces can be diverted or their action postponed relatively easily if their outcome is viewed as having a too serious disruption of established race relations. The imposition of tariff protection to assist industries affected by the need to employ a large European labour force, the development of European trade unions to protect racial privileges, etc., can be effective.

In the final analysis the means of introducing change rests with the centres of power. These centres are not necessarily governmental, but can include the boards of directors of industry, the owners of retail establishments, responsible public utility corporations or trade unions. In any community where the government reserves the right to direct the affairs of the community at large 'in the public interest', it is inevitable that governments are in fact the most influential agencies for the introduction of change. In this respect, the attention which African leaders give to politics—in preference to matters of a more economic character—is logical.

Their method, however, is essentially direct—the immediate assumption of power—as distinct from the creation of forces such that the decisions of persons currently in power will be to their advantage.

One of the greatest hindrances to their efforts is the poverty of their followers. Current incomes are too small to allow personal or organized savings of a magnitude sufficient to count in the enforcement of any demand they may make by strike action or by other temporary disruptions of established procedures. The demands of those resident in rural areas and needing money to raise themselves above a subsistence level of agricultural production are many. The number of Africans in a financial position to proceed to higher education or technical training is limited. To express the matter succinctly, the wherewithal to conduct a programme of resistance to the *status quo* aimed at a revision of the African's status is poorly developed in the African community. In consequence, frustration tends to take the form of relatively aimless and temporary breaches of the peace. Inevitably, governments are drawn into the conflict rather than remaining independent and acting as a mediator in disputes among groups within the community that is governed. The point is illustrated by the series of events affecting the Chamber of Mines and the European and African trade unions on the Copperbelt. In these conflicts, which have expressed themselves in strike action, the role of government has been more mediatory than in other spheres of economic activity. On the Copperbelt conflicting interests have expressed themselves through organizations. It is possible for government to negotiate with an organization and to resolve conflicts between organized groups. This role differs from that performed in other spheres of economic activity where organization is by no means so developed or influential.

In the less organized forms of economic activity, government tends to participate directly by way of Wages Advisory Boards, Inspectorates of Labour and minimum wage legislation. But government's direct participation becomes confused between furthering African economic advantages, the resistance of management to change and the pressure of European opinion generally, resulting from the competition it experiences from Africans. Government tends, in such a situation, to fall back on policies which can be supported by irrefutable arguments. Wages, for example, must be regulated according to rises in the cost of living index; basic minimum wages must be fixed according to the cost of minimum human needs, etc. Such policies, however, disregard the fundamental character of wages in both their economic and social aspects. Wage rates can be utilized, just as can control of hire purchase, for example, as stimulants to the general economy. The Associated Chambers of Commerce appear to have recognized this point. Similarly, wage rates reflect the social status of their recipients, and as such act as mirrors of the relationship between one wage earning group and another. Thus so long as African wage rates are to be associated

with subsistence levels, while those of Europeans are, often arbitrarily, to be fixed at the ' appropriate ' European scale, differentiation of the society on grounds of race must persist. Further, government must retain a benevolent approach to African interests. Their long established role of guardian and protector of Africans can persist—the need for this role that existed under tribal conditions has only been transferred to the urban poor.

To close this study, it need only be pointed out that limited use only can be made of statutory minimum wage legislation to remove the majority of urban Africans from poverty. The really fundamental issue is one of creating effective organizations—principally of a trade union character—which will by themselves, and free from government supervision, undertake to raise the status of African labour. Such an activity, from the government point of view, would remove the present paternal relationship between government and Africans—a relationship which places government in the centre of conflict between both African and European interests—and enable government to perform the more mediatory role it is better designed to do. Lastly, it is incorrect to suppose that the creation of strong African organizations, or even the removal of mass poverty, would remove the state of conflict which characterizes the area. It would certainly change the character of that conflict to one more in the nature of management-labour, and in doing so would change the role of government and the nature of the expression of conflict. Initially at least it might not remove the black-white character of the present conflict, but at least the changes would be more in accord with possible solutions than anything at present in existence in Central Africa.

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PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN HISTORY: THE NSENGA OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

by
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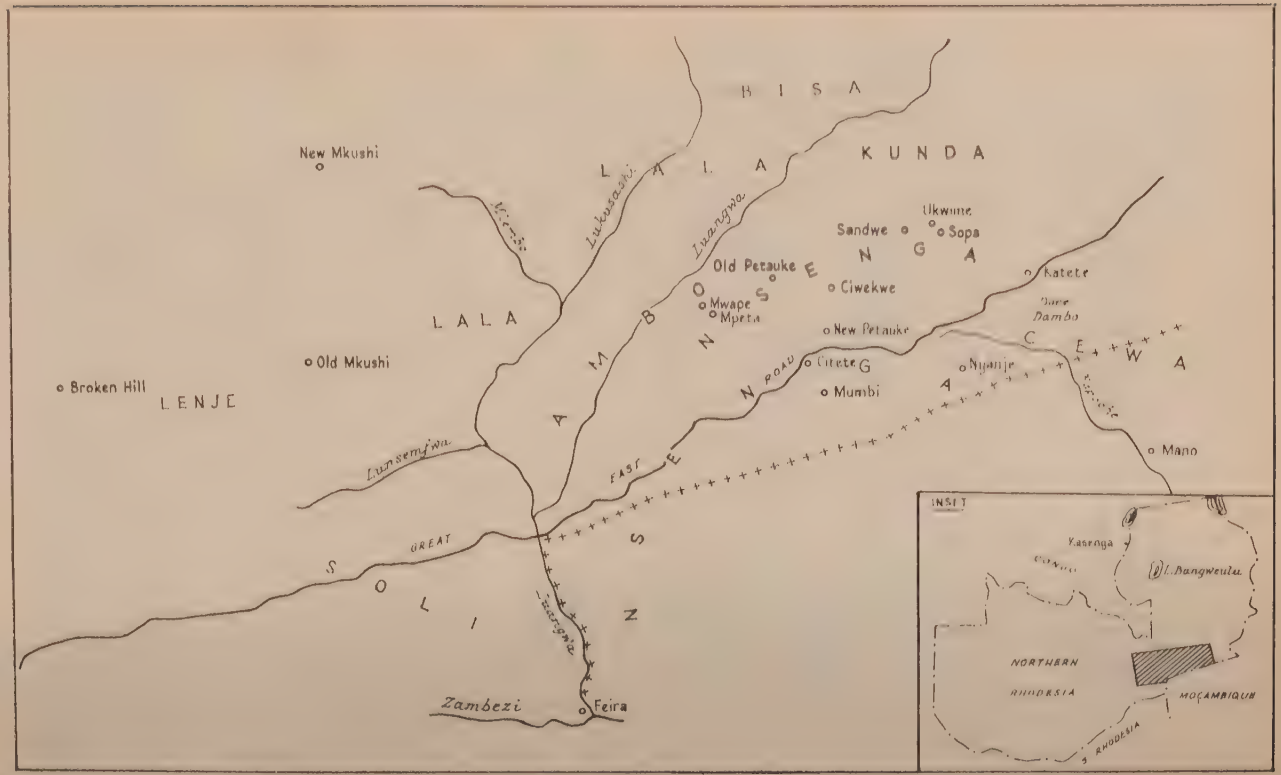
THE social and political units important for the study of ethnohistory in Northern Rhodesia are rarely 'tribes' as these are understood today. The significance in history and politics commonly attributed to tribes since the beginnings of European administration tends to obscure this. The *political* history of Northern Rhodesia is not dominantly *tribal* history; to discuss this is one aim of this paper.

In particular, some problems of Nsenga political history will be examined in this paper. This matrilineal people, who number some 80,000 in the Petauke District of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, believe themselves to be identical in social and political institutions and in other respects to the Nsenga in Portuguese East Africa. Unfortunately, no research has been carried out from which this could be substantiated. Of neighbouring peoples in Northern Rhodesia many Nsenga claim that they resemble the Kunda, preeminently, rather than the Cewa or the Ambo for example (see map on page 48). The further evidence available, however, of some institutional similarities between all four peoples, is not to be undervalued in any detailed discussion on this matter.

These are the peoples of Northern Rhodesia mainly referred to in this paper. But there is a conclusion in the form of an hypothesis to be reached, which may well be applicable in a region much wider than that which these peoples, particularly the Nsenga, inhabit.

By way of introduction, it is perhaps particularly relevant to state that comparatively speaking the Nsenga themselves do not appear to be greatly interested in their own history. This of course presents in itself a problem for their would-be historian. The Luapula Lunda, to draw a contrast, who inhabit the area from which one Nsenga historical account claims the Nsenga derive, have an intense and articulate interest in their own past. This considerably

[1] The fieldwork on which this paper is based was sponsored by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. I and my assistants/interpreters, Jacob and Esau Mwanza, and Jordan Mazala, carried it out in June–August 1958 and November–December 1959. The main object of both field trips was to analyse the role of clans and clanship in Nsenga society. I am indebted to my colleague W. J. Argyle for suggesting this as a focus of study, on the basis of his own work among the nearby Soli. I am also grateful to him, and to Lilian Dotson and Francis Jere, for comments on a draft of this paper.



Map showing place names given in the text

impressed their early Portuguese visitors such as Gamitto in 1831 (see Cunnison, 1951: 4), and provided Cunnison (1951: *passim*) with a subject for intensive social anthropological research. But the knowing of their past which the Nsenga do profess, concerns primarily the political dimension of their life and institutions. And in thus directing what historical interests they do have, the Nsenga resemble perhaps all peoples in Northern Rhodesia.

This topic is worth dwelling upon. It suggests a possible supplementation of the basis of Cunnison's analysis of the historical notions of a Central African people. Briefly put, that critique is confined to personal *vis-à-vis* impersonal (universal and local) history, and various aspects of such units of historical reference as lineages, sub-clans and clans. All kinds of history, however, which Cunnison refers to for the Luapula peoples have a common subject-matter to a high degree. As with the Nsenga, Luapula folk history is primarily political in orientation (provided 'territorial' is subsumed under 'political'), and not—say—economic. Nsenga *political* institutions have a past, in a sense in which other kinds of institutions among them do not. Explanations of their political institutions and alignments by the Nsenga themselves, are *typically* in terms of interconnections between past and present conditions. Nsenga analyses of economic institutions, as in the field of patterns of trade for example, are not inherently historical. And social history, here in the sense of a people's interest in the origins and changes of their customs, is apparently of even less concern to them, if social changes relating to the implementing of European government are excepted.

Another aspect of this same characteristic may be mentioned. So often will the Nsenga 'explain', if asked to, the 'origin of' or 'reason for' a particular method of doing such-and-such in the vein 'we do such-and-such under this particular tree because this particular tree affords such good shade, don't you see'. The history-seeking investigator is perhaps too readily apt to assume that an historical, even a mythological, justification or explanation, is being concealed from him. And very probably he can think of other trees which would afford even greater shade, and with fruits of a smaller size which would thus be likely to fall less heavily on the heads of the celebrants beneath, than those of the particular tree indicated. Moreover, to add to his problems, that kind of explanation which is superficially at least pragmatic and final, is as often as not amplified in due course with such a remark as 'we do such-and-such in this particular way (just) because our ancestors did it thus'.

It is fortunate for the primarily political historian of the Nsenga that this kind of quasi-pragmatic explanation, which serves as a validation, is confined characteristically to one particular dimension of events. Discourse on customs among the Nsenga, and their legitimation, very often has the character just described: discourse

on political institutions and alignments, usually has not. Genealogies may be telescoped, installations invented, and chronology abandoned, from time to time. But nonetheless political history of a sort is advanced. Thus the social and political historians, for example, of the Nsenga and similar peoples, have different kinds of material to contend with.

I

The only published account of Nsenga history based on original research is that by Lane Poole (1934, 3rd ed., 1949), who served in the Administration in the Eastern Province and elsewhere in Northern Rhodesia, in the early decades of this century. His findings have been adopted by later writers such as Winterbottom (1950), and particularly Tew (1950), to name only two.

Both Tew's contribution towards the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, and Poole's book itself, are read by those politically eminent Nsenga who are also familiar with English. They are indeed read to a much greater extent, in my experience, than they are by European administrators in the area. No doubt the reasons for this contrast include the difference between European and Nsenga governmental practice. Certain Nsenga councillors, chiefs and others take notes from these books, on scraps of paper or in much-folded small notebooks originally acquired from Indian stores. And through such note-keeping, the transmission of political history has become a little more systematized than it was in the past. Numerically very few records are concerned, perhaps few more than the dozen which I have seen, but being in the hands of those persons most historically minded, they are well-placed strategically to affect the transmission of historical knowledge. Among the Nsenga, these persons do not include, and apparently never have included, traditional specialist knowers or tellers of history, such as those who still enjoy great prestige as arbiters among Mwantiamvwa's Lunda in the Congo. It appears that rather more historical knowledge is sometimes to be found among Nsenga of chiefly rather than commoner lineages. But as these represent precisely the most interested sectors of society, one cannot expect to find among them such disinterested information as is possible to a greater degree in the case of institutionalized specialists. However, and this is the main point, the element of systematization itself that has recently begun to affect the transmission of political history among the Nsenga, does not at the same time guarantee accuracy in this passing on. It permits what might have been originally a poorly grounded account, because of a particular limitation of the knowledge of its first exponent, to become disseminated by protected or privileged means.

According to Poole's analysis, to summarize it very briefly, the Nsenga in Petauke were established as a branch of the Cewa, by the

powerful Cewa Chief Undi, the successor of the legendary Chief Kalonga. Poole's account runs that Chief Undi moved from his headquarters, then in the Kapoche Valley in what is now Portuguese East Africa, during the last decade or so of the eighteenth century. He believes that Undi intended to return to his ancestral home, which the Cewa still claim to be the Luba domain in the Congo basin of Chief Cawalamakumba. But when on his way Undi reached the country of the Lenje Chief Mkuni, Poole says that the stories Undi heard there of the fierceness of the Bemba through whose lands he would next have to pass to reach Luba (Uluŵa), made him abandon the project. Instead, he is supposed to have remained among the Lenje (roughly in the district where Broken Hill is now) for a generation or so (no reason for this long sojourn is suggested by any source), and then to have set out to return to Mano, his headquarters village or district in the Kapoche valley. It was on this homeward journey, according to Poole, that Undi left some of his Cewa subjects, at a camp some fifteen miles west of the present Petauke township, in a country uninhabited save for some very thinly scattered bushman-like Twa. From this Cewa group, which included however wives brought back from Lenje country, Poole asserts that the Nsenga as we know them today originated in the Petauke district.

This account of a people's history, entertains no possibility other than that ' the Nsenga ' all originated in the Petauke region in one single way. Poole asserts this so often in the course of his essay that one may suspect that he did come across contrary stories. Indeed, one reads at one point (1949 : 36) that ' the older depositaries of history of the Nsenga sometimes assert that they sprang from . . . the west '. But Poole decided to give them no credence. The kind of unitary and unified origin he expounds, is a common feature of several accounts of so-called ' tribal ' history, carried out before the results of social anthropological studies were available to indicate the nature of the social structures of the peoples concerned. The relevance of the one subject to the other is essential, as this paper demonstrates for central and eastern Northern Rhodesia; it is not just another field where an inter-disciplinary approach is fruitful. Field enquiries into Nsenga history produce a number of conflicting versions. Field studies in social anthropology amongst them, show that these conflicting accounts are not purely irregularly distributed. They vary systematically according to the (maternal) clan of the teller. Personalities from each of the dozen clans represented among the Nsenga tend to claim a distinctive history for their own clan, and at the same time to contradict in their own favour rival claims boasted by other clans in such matters as who were the first people to settle in the Petauke region. Clans vie with each other in matters of political history. And it is a source of confusion for their political historian that, according to Nsenga culture, political history is a highly convenient idiom

in which to seek and to express clan individuality, by fair means or foul.

That a clan in eastern and central Northern Rhodesia for example *may* have a political history of its own, could be deduced from such a finding as ' the Nsenga ' as a political unit is a creation of European government (Apthorpe, 1959*a*: *passim*). The nearby political unit ' the Soli ' is similarly a European creation, as shown by my colleague W. J. Argyle (1959 : 101). Indeed, this is a phenomenon very widely characteristic of Northern Rhodesia (Apthorpe, 1960: *passim*). That a particular clan in Rhodesia *does* have a political history of its own has been demonstrated empirically by Munday (1940) for the Nyendwa clan, which is distributed among peoples including both the Lala and the Ambo. The Nyendwa clan, however, is the exclusive provider of chiefs for these peoples, and thus enjoys a privileged political position amongst them which other clans do not. In contrast, none of the clans found in Nsenga society has such an importance: no one clan is, so to speak, royal.

Among the Nsenga, clansmen are politically subject ideally only to a chief who is of the same clan as themselves, and even in that relationship there is considerable egality (for a preliminary description, see Apthorpe, 1959*a* : 74–5). Also, although clan exogamy is an inflexible marriage rule, it is evident that in people's minds among the Nsenga clans are considered to be localized to a much greater extent than they are on the ground. Elements of nucleation are regarded by the Nsenga as predominating over those of dispersal. It is therefore an Nsenga concept of clanship which I follow here in speaking of ' clans ' claiming a history of their own. Clans are conceptualized as *clusters of politically locally dominant clansmen*. Entire clans among the Nsenga are not localized: but it is believed that the politically most eminent, and the numerically most predominant, of their members, are. Clans as units in this qualified sense, which is that used throughout the present paper, exist actually as well as ideally. Every clan among the Nsenga has its own chief and thus is politically dominant somewhere—or was, until the 1947 chieftainship changes brought about by the Administration. And not only chieftaincies are spoken of as if their population was drawn only from one clan: often even village sections (*vikole*), where these exist, are named as if they were inhabited solely by Mvula clanspeople, let us say, although due to clan exogamy and the residence together of both spouses, there cannot be such *blocs* of common clansmen on the ground.

Despite the difference between this system of clanship and that among the peoples Munday describes, there is evidence that the claims of common clansmen among the Nsenga to have a history of their own, may be as valid as are similar claims advanced by the Nyendwa among the Ambo and the Lala, despite the different political structures of these peoples. For instance, amongst the Nsenga the Tembo clan in Chief Sandwe's area—in the sense of

'clan' now adequately specified for present purposes –appears to have a history in the Petauke region different from that of the Mwanza clan of the Nsenga Chief Kalindawalo.

II

The Tembo subjects of Chief Sandwe assert that they came to their present home, which is mainly the Lusangazi valley, not with the first Mwanza Chief Mndikula whose successor was called Kalindawalo, the name by which this chieftainship has been known ever since, but with the Kinda Chief Mambwe. Sandwe's people claim that they, like the Kunda, were known as Aŵetŵe before they crossed the Luangwa river. They contrast themselves in matters of history with the Cewa. Sandwe's people, and indeed apparently all the Nsenga, believe that ultimately they sprang from the Luba domain of Chief Cawalamakumba. The Cewa claim this as their ultimate origin also. But history as seen in Chief Sandwe's area is that most people now called Nsenga did not migrate from Luba under Chief Kalonga, the precursor of the Cewa Chief Undi, and that although their route meandered considerably and took many generations, it was certainly not the Cewa route which was north of Lake Bangweulu and then via Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. They also say that the Cewa journeyed to eastern Northern Rhodesia at a time long before the Tembo crossing of the Luangwa. Poole (1949 : 38) suggests that the Cewa arrived 'almost certainly before the year A.D. 1500'.

History as seen in Sandwe's area is that when Kanyozo, who was the first Chief Sandwe, crossed the Luangwa at the lagoon still called Luamfwe, Chief Mndikula and his Mwanza followers were already at the site Citete, a few miles to the west of the present Petauke boma. Chief Mambwe's Kunda were founded after Mambwe crossed the Luangwa at a point upstream known as Ŵakaŵaka. This site cannot be pointed out exactly today, and unfortunately neither Field (1949, rev. ed.) nor Poole (1949) mention it. The accounts I have are not clear on whether the brothers-in-law Kanyozo and Mambwe, as they are reputed to have been, separated before or after they reached the Luangwa. Informants declare themselves certain, however, that the Kunda were established south of that river only subsequently to Kanyozo and his Tembo, and this is in agreement with what is generally accepted about Kunda history (e.g. Poole, 1949 : 51).

A rough indication of the approximate period of Kanyozo's crossing is available from the reckoning of the present Sandwe and his advisers that he is the seventh successor of Kanyozo. Poole argues (1949 : 50) that the Kunda were established 1845–50, but Bruwer (1958 : 207) considers that they 'apparently settled in their present habitat just under two centuries ago'. Kanyozo and his Tembo found the area immediately south of the Luangwa to be

uninhabited except for four or five Tumbuka villages, according to a story first related to me by Kasawi, who was (he died 1960) a classificatory *tumvi* (Apthorpe, 1959*a* : 81) of Sandwe's chieftainship, a kind of hereditary state guardian, and therefore likely to be a knowledgeable source of information about the past. The Tumbuka settlements were eradicated, he said, their inhabitants being driven to the upper Luangwa region. I have found no other trace of them than this story, however—no placename evidence for instance.

Very soon after settling in the area, Tembo historical accounts continue, Kanyozo heard that Mndikula was skirmishing with the Mwambonelakwisa (*lit.* ' where have you seen me ', a Bemba or Bisa expression often used by the Nsenga and other peoples to refer to the Twa, the nomadic people they found here and there on the plateau). Kanyozo is said to have gone to the scene of the encounter. He found the Mwanza to be armed only with bows and arrows (this accords with what Poole, 1949, and Barnes, 1954, accept on the arms of the early Nsenga). He, on the other hand, was accustomed to the *nyembe* or *ukano*, the full-size weapon of which the present-day small ceremonial axes used among the Nsenga (and many other peoples) are models. Appreciating that the method of fighting the Mwanza employed did not involve hand-to-hand combat, Kanyozo is said to have wished to change to it himself. He was given or lent blacksmiths by Mndikula to forge arrow heads, at furnaces built on the plateau in the neighbourhood of Ukwimi village, where possibly most of the skirmishing itself had taken place. It was on account of this sudden changeover, the Tembo say, that Mndikula gave Kanyozo the name Sandwe, from *kusandula*, ' to change about ', a new title which it seems was readily accepted. Field (1949 : 44) cites this verb, but she offers no explanation of how Sandwe's ' world was changed about '.

Various details of this Tembo history, which clearly counters Poole's view (1949 : 41) that ' it seems almost established that the large family of the Tembo totem returned from the country of Mukuni with the Undi expedition ', were accepted in all the villages in Sandwe's area I visited in just over a month's tour there at the end of 1959. No part of it was actually contradicted. Moreover, the story as a whole is accepted even by Isaac Sopa Muunga, an elder of the Mwanza clan, whose views on Nsenga history are respected considerably by the historically eminent Chief Kalindawalo and his advisers.

The boast sometimes advanced in Sandwe's area, that the Tembo of Chief Nyanje some fifty miles to the south, originated there as an offshoot of Sandwe's people, has not been borne out by extensive inquiries in other parts of Nsenga country. Indeed, Poole's general impression that Nyanje's Tembo chieftainship was established probably by an act not of Kalindawalo but Undi, may be supported by a detailed explanation (Apthorpe, 1959*a* : 94) originally advanced to me by Sopa.

There are further circumstantial reasons, but of a different sort, in support of the version of the origin of Sandwe's people in the Petauke region which I have now given. For example, there is great reason to doubt that the first Mwanza chief Mndikula could have established Sandwe as a chief, as Poole claims (1949 : 43) to have happened: Sandwe's chieftainship is Tembo by clan. One does not query on social anthropological grounds Nsenga claims that certain other Nsenga chiefs were established by Chief Mndikula, in order that uninhabited land near him might be settled before it passed into alien and possibly hostile hands, because in all these other cases the persons involved were of the same clan as Mndikula. Common clanship among the Nsenga is almost the sole guarantee of practical political solidarity. The Tembo and Mwanza clans are unconnected even in the field of clan joking relationships (Apthorpe, 1959*b*: *passim*), of which one aspect that would have been significant here is the egality of clan partners involved. Furthermore, no version of an origin of Sandwe's chieftainship in terms of a compensation awarded by Mndikula was advanced to me, although this would offer a perfectly logical Nsenga explanation of the founding of chiefly line. Chieftainships founded in this way among the Nsenga do not entail the clan of the new chief being the same as that of the chief who awarded the compensation. In this respect, Nsenga polity resembles that of the Soli recorded by Argyle (1959 : 108–10).

III

The history of another clan among the Nsenga, the Mwanza, illustrates another aspect of the significance of clans in Nsenga history. Also, it emphasizes the need to extend our horizon from intra- to inter-tribal relationships.

In asserting that the Mwanza were the first clan to settle in what is now the Petauke district, Nsenga history as seen in Sandwe's area is in agreement with what is generally believed on this subject, apparently by all clans. About the order of arrival of other clans after the Mwanza, dispute is endemic. Sandwe's people are as familiar as Nsenga elsewhere with the story that the Cewa Chief Undi established the Mwanza Chief Mndikula who was succeeded by Kalindawalo. They seem to have learnt this, however, from school teachers (who on the whole are as often Cewa as Nsenga) rather than from elders or traditional specialists. Given that in general the Nsenga people lack deep historical interests, and that the language of instruction (and hence that of the school texts) is Cewa or Nyanja in all schools south of the Great East Road, where the majority of Nsenga live, it is arguable that a biassed view is being promulgated by closed or at least protected means. North of that road Nsenga is used in the U.M.CA. schools, but the historical text in this language exclusively used—for practically speaking there is no other—is that by Field (1949). Miss Field's small book is

mainly of value for its folk stories, which she collected herself in villages, and on the whole the only history she records with clarity comprises incidents already recorded in Poole's essay.

Here a particularly significant finding of contemporary field investigation into Nsenga history is to be mentioned. When I asked about Undi's supposed journey to Mkuni, no more details were advanced than those which Poole supplies and these apparently only by people familiar with his account, or accounts derived from it. There is a lack of knowledge on this subject even in those Nsenga villages in which there is some direct Cewa political influence. Moreover, to the direct question to those apparently knowledgeable informants as to whether they really believed that this journey of Undi was ever undertaken, the usual reply given was at best non-committal. And people who do not favour a Cewa origin of the Nsenga took the opportunity to advance with conviction the contrast in culture which the Mwanza no less than most Nsenga draw between themselves and the Cewa. One very striking instance is frequently referred to. The *nyau* complex among the Cewa (Rangely, 1949, 1950, Makumbi, 1955), which concerns in particular male initiation and is most important in Cewa life, is totally absent from and alien to Nsenga culture.

Most Mwanza like other Nsenga believe that the three chiefs Mndikula, Undi and Mambwe met in amity to apportion territorial spheres of influence. They say that this meeting was in the plateau region of Dore near the village of the Nsenga Chief Muwanje, whose area had been given to him by Mndikula. Some clue to the approximate historical period of this meeting is available in the Mwanza assertion that the Undi who attended it died soon afterwards at Dore and was buried there, and that it was his immediate successor who was the first of the Cewa chiefs to settle at Mano. But of the Nsenga the Mwanza in particular insist that the Mndikula who conferred did so not in the role of a dependent, or a particular subordinate, of Undi. They hold that Mndikula at that time was already established in the region of the present Petauke township. They say that with Ciŵekŵe, Sopa, Muwanje, Mumbi and others alleged to have included Kambombo, Mndikula had crossed the Luangwa and had then built first at Mpeta on the Mvuvye river, and then at Citete, a site I have already mentioned. At Milembo early on his route he is said to have left the ancestor of the present Ambo Chief Mboloma (could ' Ambonsenga ' as the Ambo are fully called possibly be an ellipsis for ' Mboloma Nsenga ' ?), and soon afterwards, Luembe and his uterine sister Mwape at points nearer the Luangwa river. Ambo chieftainships of these names are still recognized today. Kambombo either went or was sent, the Mwanza say, to the upper Luangwa valley, where he founded the Senga, unmolested by chiefs Undi and Mambwe, possibly as a result of the tripartite Dore conference. The Northern Rhodesia Government recognizes the Kambombo chieftainship as the Senior one among the Senga.

Soon after having settled at Citete, the Mwanza versions continue, Mndikula journeyed away from it for some purpose. Intending to be away for a long time, he is supposed to have left his uterine brother Mupe in control. The Mwanza argue that it was Mupe who was first called Kalindawalo, and thus attributed the origin of the name by which this chiefly line is known today to Mndikula. ' Kalindawalo ' means literally ' he who looks after the court ' or ' meeting place ' or ' area '. Cewa and Cewa sympathizers, on the other hand, say that Chief Undi coined ' Kalindawalo ', and applied it to Mndikula himself. They appear to regard this as a crucial factor in favour of the Cewa version of Mwanza and Nsenga history. A lesson of Mwanza-Tembo political history, however, is that the coining—and the acceptance—of a name does not necessarily throw light on the origin of the chieftainship concerned, though it does indicate as having obtained at a particular time a friendly political atmosphere between the chiefs concerned. Fortunately there is no need to pursue this subject further here, nor to investigate why the chieftainship passed to a younger brother, rather than a sister's son, for it seems that a suitable nephew did exist. That is a problem of dynastic history among the Nsenga which is a special subject in itself.

It is valuable here, on the other hand, to comment on the name ' Nsenga '. The Mwanza elder Sopa already referred to claims it derives from the place Kasenga, which is on the left bank of the Luapula at approximately 10·5° S. It should be mentioned, however, that Sopa is familiar with a large scale map of Northern Rhodesia. Only one other informant referred directly to such a place Kasenga. He spoke of a village he believed to be in the Feira District, near the confluence of the Luangwa and the Zambesi, but neither he nor I have travelled there. Other views on the origin of the term ' Nsenga ' which may be less of the order of guesswork, are discussed by Poole (1949 : 35). All of them, and a few others, are still to be heard in Nsenga country: none of them refer to a particular settlement of that name, but either to a natural feature of the physical landscape or a type of vegetation, and in common with many other Bantu ' tribal ' names, that of ' Nsenga ' is in all these versions I believe a name first applied by outsiders. Similarly, subdivisions of the Nsenga recognized according to the various natural habitats in the Petauke district (Apthorpe, 1959*a* : 69–70) are usually terms of reference applied by outsiders—political outsiders, that is, though they may themselves be Nsenga-speaking. It is a marked feature of much of eastern and central Northern Rhodesia that the unities expressed in ' tribal ' names, such as Nsenga, are unities of place and the language spoken for example, rather than of government or polity. ' Tribal ' affiliations may change, although no geographical move of people or a change of culture is involved, and there is evidence that some Chiefs Sandwe have preferred to call themselves Kunda rather than Nsenga when it suited their purposes, though there is no need here to attempt to

trace this in detail. The 'tribe' Chief Undi is alleged to have lived among in what is now the Broken Hill district, was known as *Bene Mkuni*, 'Mkuni's people'. This draws attention directly to a political or governmental unit which such terms as 'Lenje' or 'Nsenga' do not.

IV

The Mwanza-related history I have now presented has implications for the Nsenga and the Petauke District on the one hand, and, on the other, a much wider area. To take for discussion the former first of all, one must emphasize that although it does not seem to be disputed anywhere, by any clan, that the Mwanza were the first Nsenga to live in the Petauke region, this agreement must not be wrongly interpreted. It does not mean *that therefore* the Mwanza are believed to have the right of providing a Senior Nsenga Chief with the role and status this European title was designed to convey. In Northern Rhodesia Government terminology, Kalindawalo is a Senior Chief. According to the Nsenga political system, ideally political authority is clan authority—in the sense of 'clan' defined above at page 52. Though the Mwanza are historically prior in the Petauke region, they are not thereby politically senior there as well.

Guyot observed (1895 : 314) from his travels of 1862 that the Nsenga 'sont independants et leur territoire se devise en un grand nombre de petits États gouvernés chacun par son roitelet, sans aucune alliance entre eux'. Essentially that was so, though the establishment by Mndikula of the Mwanza chiefs Mumbi, Sopa, Ukwimi and Ciŵekŵe, which is well attested, shows that the relationships between some chiefs in Nsenga political history are closer than they are between others. The model even in those cases, however, is rather that clan-related chiefs were expected never to be each other's opponents, than that they were enjoined to be in active cooperation with each other or in hierarchy. But the degree of political solidarity that does exist points to a necessary modification to the argument that Nsenga clans as clusters of locally dominant clansmen (and clanswomen) claim and have distinctive political histories. Between Nsenga chieftainships of the same clan, particularly if they are contiguous on the ground, there may be evidence of a common historical origin, at least in the Petauke district. I have shown this in discussing Mwanza history. Ciŵekŵe, Sopa, Muwanje and Mumbi, all Mwanza followers of Mndikula who crossed the Luangwa with him, were given chieftainships in the Petauke region by Mndikula in order that unsettled land might be acquired. And examples of links between chieftainships originated in this way are afforded not only by the Mwanza clan.

The Mwanza version of Nsenga-Cewa relations, to turn now to a wider implication of Mwanza-related history, is not so widely believed

in today, my field inquiries suggest, as the version Poole propounds, for reasons now sufficiently indicated. But this, as I have argued, does not thereby mean that it is untrue. The possibility that *some* Nsenga families originated as offshoots of the Cewa is not to be rejected. It is a general tenet of this paper that the inhabitants of the Petauke region who now call themselves Nsenga, migrated there by different routes, and at different times. Some of general grounds on which historical accounts like Poole's may be criticized have been stated already. Another important one may be introduced here by the missing passage from Guyot's statement just quoted: ' autrefois '. Guyot also wrote, the Nsenga ' obeissaient à l'Unde, roi des Maraves '. ' Autrefois ' has not a very explicit meaning, and it does not encourage any decision as to whether Guyot was reporting fact he endeavoured to establish scientifically, or merely rumour or myth which he was passing on. And it is in itself strange that Guyot should so express himself after a visit which was after all barely two generations after the period which Poole (1949 : 42) from oral sources was able to conclude that Mndikula founded his colony—approximately in the 1830's. Also, Guyot's travels were not on the plateau in the Petauke region, being on the whole much to the south along the Zambezi, and they may not have taken him to many Nsenga chieftainships. All in all it is ' obeissaient ' rather than ' autrefois ' which requires special comment here.

The present Kalindawalo and presumably also his predecessors, may address and even refer to Chief Undi as *gawa*, ' divider (of lands) '. This could of course be in support of the view that an early Kalindawalo received his area from an early Undi. But this is not the only possibility. It could be interpreted merely as a recognition that Undi was at the head of a very powerful polity, which was traditionally the strongest and largest in eastern central Africa for centuries before the Ngoni came. It should not be imagined that for one great chief to pay respect to one more powerful than himself, implies in itself that the former is actually politically tributary to the other. Even the giving of presents from a lesser to a greater chief need not necessarily be interpreted differently from present-giving between people who are not politically eminent. Among the Nsenga a general feature of present-giving appears to be that this serves less to establish or to maintain hierarchies, than to introduce an element of egality into the interaction between persons otherwise dominantly hierarchically, or hostilely, related to each other.

Against this background, it can be argued that the speech given by Undi at the *kufumya mfumu* or ' coming out ' ceremony of the present Chief Michael Kalindawalo, is not necessarily evidence of a Cewa origin of that chieftaincy. This is despite the sense and tone of that speech which is reported orally by Europeans as having been that he, Undi, was in agreement that Michael was a rightful and suitable heir, and that like his predecessors he should exercise full

powers in the Petauke district. Perhaps the situation in history was that an early Undi simply confirmed the independent existence of the Mndikula chieftaincy by the very fact of not destroying it, nor imposing over it any political or governmental rights. This might or might not have been a result of the tripartite Dore conference.

Finally, is it likely in the absence of any traditional narrative to the contrary that Undi, who was Phiri by clan, would have established a Mwanza as a chief when presumably many of his own clansmen were available to choose from? I found no tradition of an origin of Kalindawalo's chieftainship as a compensation awarded—say by Undi. One informant, however, did venture the story that the first Mndikula was Cewa and a politically important person in Undi's councils because he represented a politically subordinate, but numerically large, clan in Undi's area. This basis for political appointment is a traditional Nsenga one and is still operative as may be seen from the selection of present-day Native Authority personnel. But I cannot speak for Cewa custom, and it is of interest here as well as in another connection to be discussed below that Poole states specifically (1949 : 40) that the Mwanza clan is not distributed among the Cewa to any extent.

The implications of the Mwanza-related history concerning relations with the Ambo, or Ambonsenga as they are fully called, are more difficult to discriminate from clan boasts, because of the number of historical studies already carried out from different points of view bearing on that people. None of the accounts of Nsenga-Ambo relations (e.g. Poole 1947 : 59–64, Munday, 1940 *passim*, and Stefaniszyn 1956 : 12–41) suggest an importance of the Mwanza clan historically greater than that of the Nyendwa clan. It must be remembered though, that the Nyendwa at least among the Ambo regard themselves as linked in a joking relationship with the Mwanza (e.g. Munday, 1940 : 437–8 implies this). Field enquiry suggests that the Mwanza of Petauke would ' joke ' with the Nyendwa were the Nyendwa as such to be found amongst them, as are the Nyangu or Nyungu who originated in the Nyendwa clan, with whom the Mwanza do joke (for analysis of clan joking see Apthorpe, 1959*b* *passim* or Stefaniszyn, 1950 *passim* for the Ambo). Clan joking relations betoken a kind of close association, which sometimes is significant in political history (an Nsenga instance is provided by the Mwanza-Nzovu clan link). But from an existence of a Mwanza-Nyendwa joking relationship one could argue not only that the Nyendwa are an offshoot of the Mwanza but also, and perhaps more likely in the light of knowledge already available on the Ambo, that the Mwanza are an offshoot of the Nyendwa. In this case, Mwanza rule in Petauke would be an extension of that of the Nyendwa in regions nearby to the west. My own fieldwork is too insubstantial to support any opinion on this latter interpretation. Any future research might well follow up a lead or two provided by Poole's account. For example, it gives (1949 : 67) a story of the Ambo

Chief Mwape's colonization of the very fertile lowest reaches of the Mvuvya river through the marriage of her daughter and a son of Kalindawalo.

Regarding the Mwanza claim that the Senga and the Nsenga are historically one people, there is a possible source of evidence in support of this in the fact that the Mwanza consider themselves to be one clan with the Nyirenda clan, which is that of the Senga Chief Kambombo. As it is common in eastern and central Northern Rhodesia, however, for clans to consider themselves to have a single identity though different names (yet without being either prone or able to trace historical connections to account for this), this kind of evidence is easily over-valued. On the other hand, one hears that the Senga (unfortunately I have not yet visited them) also customarily align themselves with the Nsenga in speaking of their history as well as of their present social institutions. The Senga distinguish themselves from the Nsenga, mainly, I understand, by calling themselves *Senga comene* (lit. ' Senga proper '). Thomson might have been aware of this, though neither he nor other writers record it, when he observed (1934: paras 27–78) that ' the Senga (of the upper Luangwa) are alleged to be composed partly of Tumbuka and partly of Wisa descent . . . The (Nsenga) in Feira District are an offshoot from the Senga in the Lundazi District (in the upper Luangwa). The Chief Mburuma (who lives near Feira township) told me that during a raid by a Portuguese half-caste on the Luangwa his predecessor and his following fled from the Upper Luangwa to the Zambezi '.

Nsenga-Senga relations offer a particularly interesting puzzle, in which interest is heightened because early (and certain later) writers spell their names identically. But a solution could be found only by research being conducted among both peoples. It should be clear from my discussion of political history in Petauke District that a complex of clans, which covers a wide area, is the essential focus of study, and that individual clans are found among several ' tribes '. Certainly Poole's account includes much implicit information about clans and their importance in the Eastern Province. For example, he notes that the clans among the Nsenga which are found also to the west and north of them, rather than to the east, include the Mwanza (as well as the Lungu, the Tembo and the Nguluwe). But he does not consider the significance of this for political history in the field of chieftainship.

V

This paper has sought to state some problems for the would-be political historian of the Nsenga of Northern Rhodesia. These difficulties are by no means confined to Nsenga studies, however, and a general hypothesis emerges by way of conclusion. But before endeavouring to state this, it will be well to comment on Nsenga history as this paper has elucidated it.

It is clear, first of all, that comparatively few details of Nsenga history may be regarded as having been established finally. No doubt many never will be known with certainty. But a pattern of events has emerged in which it *is* evident beyond doubt for example that the Nsenga do not regard themselves as autochtonous people in the Petauke District in the sense, for instance, that the Tonga-Ila are believed to have lived in southern and central Northern Rhodesia even since before the Malavi peoples were first reported by Barreto's expedition in the sixteenth century. However, it happens that the Nsenga, under that name, according to Poole are first recorded by Monteiro after his 1831 expedition as living at the confluence of the Luangwa and the Zambezi. Clark suggests (1950 : 45) that the Tonga-Ila came to their present homelands ' via the east coast of Lake Nyasa and up the Zambezi '. The country round Petauke could never have supported anything but a very slight and scattered population, in the view of the extreme poorness of its natural water supplies (today dams and wells are available). It is perfectly possible that such a slight peopling could have passed unnoticed by early travellers in eastern Northern Rhodesia none of whom actually traversed the area concerned. If the Nsenga are autochtonous, Nsenga chieftainship in the Petauke region might represent an immigrant rule which was accepted because of ritual or material benefits it may have brought.

In view of research already carried out in Northern Rhodesia (much of which is noted by Gluckman, 1956 *passim*) the possibility of rule by immigrant chiefs should be ever-present in the mind of the student working in this area. To take up this possibility in relation to the Nsenga, it could be argued that as chiefly genealogies among them are traced back usually as much as some seven generations, while non-chiefly ones are usually only three or four generations in depth, an origin in the area of immigrant chiefs at about the beginning of the last century is suggested. If it could be shown that the Nsenga were autochtonous in the Petauke District, and thus that chiefs might have immigrated earlier than a century and a half ago into an area that was already peopled, it could have been the case that a threatened invasion or rapid infiltration of Cewa, say, proved sufficiently alarming to bring about a new baseline (perhaps in the form of a political reorganization) in the reckoning of chiefly genealogies. Earlier ancestry might have gradually seemed insignificant in people's minds, being relegated to times classified so to speak as before the great flood, or rather before the threat of one.

There is no evidence whatsoever to be found in Nsenga folk history, so far as I am aware, of immigrant chiefs coming to rule over a settled pre-existing population at any time. Moreover, there is nothing in the nature of chieftainship and political structure among the Nsenga to suggest this. Among the Lunda of the Balovale District, to draw a particularly striking contrast, chieftainship is patrilineally transmitted whereas all other lines of inheritance in that

society are primarily matrilineal. There is certainly no comparable contrast between Nsenga chiefs and people. This seems to me to be a legitimate use of non-historical data—here social anthropological findings—from which to venture statements about history which to all practical intents and purposes are conclusive. The social institutional outline of Nsenga society indicates that in general it is of a 'pioneer fringe' kind, developing from the settling of a kind of no-man's land. Whether the Nsenga came into this land from the east or the west is immaterial, in this context. There is no indication in the political values of Nsenga society, so far as I am acquainted with them, that the ancestors of the lineages now providing chiefs were not in the vanguard of settlement. Indeed, there is every indication to the contrary, if one contrasts Nsenga institutions with those in the northwest of Northern Rhodesia, for example. In the absence of historical traditions of a conquest or another kind of penetration by foreign chiefs, there is every reason simply to deduce the past from the present in this sphere of political structure by social anthropological techniques. The inference of history from other kinds of non-historical data such as descriptive linguistic materials is more hazardous. It is of interest to us, and in line with the contention of this paper of a Lamba-Lala-Bisa rather than a Malavi affinity of the Nsenga in general, that 'in its range of words (the Nsenga language) would appear to be richer than, at any rate, those to the east (Malavi): and both in vocabulary and syntax it bears a closer resemblance to Chiŵiza and Chiŵemba than to them' (Ranger, 1928: vi). But such linguistic data are as limiting factors for our analysis, nothing more.

Poole's account of Nsenga history is clearly one which makes use of oral sources. Presumably, he had no particular clan affiliation himself, which would have led him to have preferred one clan-related version of Nsenga history above others. Yet the undoubtedness he repeatedly claims for his statements is difficult to justify even from his essay itself (see above, p. 51). Indeed, it is a comparable conviction of certainty to that which is often apt to colour oral political history itself among the Nsenga. The conclusion one comes to is that it seems Poole was not aware of the tendency for each clan among the Nsenga to boast a history of its own, with elements both of validity and exaggeration. It seems that he had not studied the interconnection sufficiently between clanship and political structure. Indeed, before I commenced my studies among the Nsenga in 1958, the Administration at Petauke apparently had no more idea than I had at that stage of the intimate connection between clanship and political control in the institutions of that people. Reasons for this lack of knowledge are of course extremely difficult to establish. But at least it is worth commenting that to have the role of administrator at the same time as that of the would-be political historian, is highly inconvenient. Not only among the Nsenga but in much of Northern Rhodesia, the indigenous political process is itself in part

the determination or interpretation of political history. The administrator cannot move freely among the peoples he administers in search of informants on political history because he himself is bound up in government and politics, and in a peculiarly elevated sphere.

The general hypothesis raised by this paper concerns in particular the relationship of a people's characterizing units of society, especially political society, on the one hand, and the social units of reference that people dominantly use in speaking about their political history, on the other. Amongst the Nsenga, as this paper has shown, these two units—of political society, and historical reference—tend to coincide. 'The clan' as conceptualized by the Nsenga is at the same time the characterizing unit of their political structure, and the most common reference unit of their traditional political history. This common identity of units has the effect of making it difficult for the historian to assess conflicting historical claims, boasted about their past by different clans. There is no clan-neutral sector of Nsenga society, no 'royal' clan, and not even a hierarchy of clans, which could serve to direct the historian's enquiries usefully. And centralization in contexts other than those of single clans, and this is to speak of clanship in an idealized Nsenga idiom as already explained, is very little developed if at all. There is no single clan or clan section among the Nsenga in which a true historical record can be expected to be found, so that the deviations of supposedly perverted ones may be appreciated. The problem seems even worse than that of attempting to disentangle true lineage genealogies from falsified ones, in societies where lineages rather than clans shape society-wide political structure. Nsenga history, it seems, has to be sought from other than Nsenga sources, whenever there is a lack of inter-clan agreement among the Nsenga on history.

Among peoples where dominant units of political society and their customary units of historical reference do not coincide to such a large extent, the interpretation of folk history has different problems. Among Ishinde's Lunda in northwestern Northern Rhodesia, for example, chieftainship and clanship are not so closely related as they are among the Nsenga; they are important in Lunda institutions in differing contexts, for the most part. There is a sufficient divergence of units of society and units of historical reference among this Lunda group to make it possible to look less to other than Lunda sources to ascertain Lunda history than is necessary in the case of the Nsenga and similarly structured societies. The most difficult problems of Lunda political history are primarily dynastic ones.

Different notions of history may in part, of course, be produced by having different kinds of history, and by historians living indifferent kinds of society—de Tocqueville for instance differentiated between historians in aristocracies and democracies. Cunnison (1951 : 26) has shown that the Luapula Lunda regard them-

selves, and are largely regarded by others, as natural governors in that valley. Certainly their principal activity it appears is in government, and given—as this paper has discussed—that in the Luapula valley as well as Nsenga country, history is institutionalized among the people concerned in spheres of political or governmental activities first and foremost, the taste for the kind of history which the Lunda know is simply explained. I have argued that there is little difference between the Lunda and Nsenga knowing of the past in respect of the kind of history they know. But there is a marked contrast between them in the intensity or scope of their pursuit of history. This may well be mainly because of the great contrast between Luapula and Nsenga concepts of government (a preliminary description of the latter is Apthorpe 1959*a passim*).

Now that government among the Nsenga has been European-influenced for three generations, Native Authorities have, among other things, been defining new political units, on a ' tribal ' scale. Sometimes, indeed, this is inter-tribal—the Nsenga and the Ambo now share a joint Native Authority. To the extent that these new units may become, or have become, not only units of local administration but also units of common political consciousness, there may come to be a new source of exaggerated claims about past political eminence to be taken into account by the student of Nsenga political history. ' The clan ' as a unit both of political society and historical reference may come to be superseded largely by ' the tribe '. But the general hypothesis that emerges from study of the period of history this paper is particularly concerned with, is so phrased as to be applicable possibly irrespective of the scale of political determination, if this is taken by itself.

Since completing this paper I have had the opportunity of visiting Mr. Lane Poole, who is living in retirement in England, and of discussing with him some problems of Nsenga history. Almost at the beginning of our conversations he pointed out that he had written in his Preface to his volume on the Eastern Province that no doubt many of its conclusions might need revising. It is of particular interest to record here that Mr. Lane Poole said he had long been of the opinion that in particular the story of Undi's journey to Mkuni required more verification than he had been able to provide. Also, he said he found it a most plausible suggestion that each clan among the Nsenga has a history of its own. On the importance of clanship in Nsenga society he agreed that a good deal is to be learnt from what he terms ' clan affiliations ', and I ' clan joking relationships '. On his discoveries of the political significance of clanship in general in Nsenga society, he referred me to unpublished notes he had compiled in 1932 for the use of the Maugham Commission into the North Charterland problem. In these notes it is mentioned that ' the boundaries separating the totemic (clan) areas which are a prominent feature of Nsenga tribalism ' are clearly defined. There are also

references to ' the Chief as representing the totemic clan ' in matters of land tenure, for example.

In view of Mr. Lane Poole's experience of many years in the early part of this century in the Petauke district, I feel this note on our conversation is worth recording. Of other of his most valuable *ms* notes to which he directed me, detailed use will be made in my book on the comparative African political structures in Northern Rhodesia, for which research is now being undertaken.

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INSTITUTE NOTES

Agreement has been reached in principle between the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and the Council of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland that the College should accept responsibility for the Institute. If formal agreement is reached it is proposed that the incorporation should take place as soon as is practicable after 1st January 1961.

Publications

Communications and Conference Proceedings

In response to demand, Communication 16, *Numerical Data on African Dwellers in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia*, by D. G. Bettison, 1959, 10*s.*, and Communication 2, *Aspects of Bemba Chieftainship*, by V. W. Brelsford, 1945, 5*s.*, have been reprinted, while Communication 19, *Land Usage in Barotseland*, by the late D. U. Peters, 1960, 7*s.*, became available in September. By the end of 1960 one more of this series was published: Communication 21, *A Social and Economic Study of Fort Rosebery*, by G. Kay.

Attention is drawn to a new bibliography on Central Africa to replace Communication 7. This is being prepared in conjunction with the International African Institute and will be published in their *Africa Bibliography Series* early in 1961. Orders for the bibliography may be sent direct to the International African Institute, St. Dunstan's Chambers, 10–11 Fetter Lane, London E.C.4, or to the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, P.O. Box 900, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

The Proceedings of the 14th Institute Conference, *Myth in Modern Africa*, is now available at 10*s.* The Proceedings of the 11th and 13th Conferences have been reprinted.

Papers

Paper 31, *Ndembu Divination: Symbolism and Techniques*, by V. W. Turner, will be ready by the end of March 1961. Paper 32, *Status Differentiation among the Nsenga of Northern Rhodesia*, by R. J. Apthorpe, should be available during June 1961.

Kariba Studies

The first volume in the Kariba Series, *The Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga*, by Elizabeth Colson, is now published at 35*s.*, and the second volume, *The Human Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga*, by T. Scudder, is due to appear in the Autumn.

Journal Offprints

Offprints of the two articles by Dr. D. G. Bettison appearing in Journals 27 and 28 on *The Poverty Datum Line in Central Africa* and *Factors in the Determination of Wage Rates in Central Africa*, respectively, will be available shortly at 3*s.* 6*d.* per set.

For further information on publications see Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Advertisements.

University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Institute of Education

Report on African Education on the Copperbelt

Preliminary Survey at Luanshya

1. A survey of education on the Copperbelt from samplings taken at Luanshya was undertaken by a team of five research workers during November and December 1959 with the following three broad aims in mind:

1. To study the relationship between educational preparation and success in work.
2. To study the educational aspirations of Africans.
3. To consider priorities in African education.

2. Figures were therefore collected to show:

1. The percentages of children on the Copperbelt below school age, at school, not at school and above school age.
2. Wastage in education during the years of schooling.
3. The kinds of employment sought by Africans.
4. An evaluation of the content of education.
5. The relationship between educational standards and turnover.
6. Patterns in the schooling of girls.
7. The effects of urbanization on Africans.
8. The validity and use of aptitude tests.

3. The results of this survey were used against the background of educational statistics provided by the Provincial Education Officer for the Western Province in considering the question 'If money were available to be spent on African education in the Copperbelt how best might it be spent?'

General Principles

4. An attack to improve the present status of African education should be made simultaneously at every level of training—primary, secondary, technical, adult and university and a programme of advance for a five year period be prepared as an integrated whole, but with very careful attention to priorities.

5. The programme, whilst large enough to have a heavy impact on present educational shortcomings in the Copperbelt, should take the form of an educational 'break-through' at a few key points rather than a general advance equally on every front.

6. The programme should be self-sufficient in the sense of not making hidden demands on funds elsewhere and should be fundamentally of an 'emergency' type whilst not neglecting a 'long term' element of planning.

Priorities

7. The highest priority should be given to education at the *Secondary* (*including Technical stage of education*), i.e. post Standard VI for the following three reasons:

(*a*) there is already unemployment of post Standard VI leavers in the Copperbelt,
(*b*) in order to produce the teachers needed before advances can be made at lower levels of education,
(*c*) to produce enough Africans for the types of employment likely to become available and to which they aspire.

Hence the total sum spent on this stage should be of the order of twice as much as that spent on any other stages of education.

8. In the field of *Primary Education* the aims should be

(*a*) to give a four year period of education without wastage to all children in the urban area of the Western Province,
(*b*) to develop, on the basis of research, a selection procedure, to be used in Standard VI, so as to ensure that the best use is made of money spent on the Secondary stage of education.

9. In the field of *Adult Education* the aims should be

(*a*) to train a group of teachers able to develop quickly courses of fundamental English for adults on the Copperbelt, to give a basic Literacy in English.
(*b*) to give to selected vocational groups short periods of residential education, on the model of the work of the Scandinavian Folk High Schools, sufficient in number to make an impact on adult thought on the Copperbelt.

10. In the field of *University Education* to provide a Bursary Scheme for both undergraduate and post-graduate studies open to applicants from all territories in the Federation.

REVIEWS

Chisungu, a Girls' Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia. By AUDREY I. RICHARDS. Faber & Faber (London, 1956). Pp. 224, photographs. 42*s.*

DR. AUDREY RICHARDS was the first professional anthropologist to carry out an investigation in British Central Africa, when she studied the Bemba in 1931–4; and her books and articles on the Bemba have consistently set the highest standard of fieldwork and scholarship for her colleagues. Her major book on the Bemba, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (published in 1940, and appreciatively discussed in the third number of this journal), remains the best study we have for all Africa of how a tribe engaged in subsistence agriculture, with a high rate of labour migration, makes its living. Her study of *Bemba Marriage and Modern Economic Conditions* (Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 4, 1940), together with her comparative article on the matrilineal systems of Central Africa in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. D. Forde, 1950), set the framework for studies of societies of this type. But even earlier, in 1934, she had in an article on ' Mother-right among the Central Bantu ' in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, done pioneer work here, and emphasized, for example, ' positional succession ', a concept of the utmost importance for the understanding of all Central African systems. She summarized Bemba political organization in an essay in *African Political Systems* (1940). Thus it is due to her work that we rank the Bemba among the peoples of Central Africa of whom we have adequate knowledge; and that work was the basis for later researches on other peoples.

Dr. Richards's publications on the Bemba have been interrupted by first the war, and then by her spell as Director of the East African Institute of Social Studies and her work in editing specifically and generally some of that Institute's publications. Happily for us, she has also found time to draw on her Bemba notes; and in the present book she publishes the first full description and analysis we have of the initiation rites of any Central African tribes. Again, as in her previous work, she sets high standards in the comprehensiveness of her data and the skill of her interpretation. I say this even though she herself modestly states that the data were collected over twenty years before she wrote them up, and hence there are many shortcomings in the light of present problems in anthropology. She indicates where there were gaps in her own material; and since when she saw the ceremony, it was already becoming obsolescent, I hope that her book can serve as a text for a follow-up study among the

Bemba or one of the other tribes which practise the ceremony, before it is too late.

The book concentrates on the ritual itself, since she has published at length on the social organization; but she provides an initial summary of ' The Cultural Setting ', with an explanation of how the *cisungu* rites fit into the marriage contract and accepted sex roles. The description of the ceremony is taken from her records of one actual *cisungu* ceremony, supported by accounts given her by informants on the general outline of the ceremony, and by exegetic statements on various rites, songs, and, above all, the clay figures which are used in the rites. In interpreting the rites Richards has not been restricted by any narrow adherence to one mode of analysis. She begins by discussing the ' expressed purposes ' both primary and secondary, of the Bemba themselves. She then passes to consider ' deduced attitudes ', and here she deals with the *cisungu* in relation to tribal dogmas and values, and in relation to unconscious tensions and conflicts, with its pragmatic effects. She is aware of the difficulties and dangers of this many-sided approach, but justifies it by stressing that symbols refer to ' the accepted and approved as well as the hidden and denied, the rules of society and the occasional revolt against them, the common interests of the community and the conflicting interests of different parts of it '.

In a valuable appendix, Richards also discusses the distribution of *cisungu* ceremonies in Central Africa, despite the handicap of many poor data on most of the tribes. She did so to test two hypotheses. One was the possible connection of *cisungu* rites, with matrilineal succession, uxorilocal residence, and marriage by service. The other was the extent to which the sacralizing of marital sexual relations, the essential element of *cisungu*, is connected with the existence of ritual chiefs whose marital relations with their chief wives were a principal step in important national rituals. She finds it difficult to test the hypotheses adequately because of inadequate data in other records; and the hypotheses are left for further research.

I hope that the developing political consciousness of Africans in Central Africa will not lead them to resent the publication of these rites, as evidence that their tribal customs are ' barbarous ' by modern standards. This would be most unjust to Dr. Richards; for she shows, with deep sympathy as well as insight, that these rituals are infused with religious significance, and deal with problems which are critical for all humankind. She has given us not only a record of one ceremony, in one tribe, but an understanding of the deeper levels of social life and human personality.

MAX GLUCKMAN

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Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915. By GEORGE SHEPPERSON and THOMAS PRICE. Edinburgh University Press (Edinburgh, 1958). Pp. 564. 50*s*.

No scholarly history of Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland was written before 1950; but a number of important studies have been published in the last decade. Obviously, the problem when tackling an untouched era and country is whether to begin with an overall, large-scale account, not based on detailed individual studies of small problems, or whether to begin with studies of small problems even though no general account is available to help writer or reader. This dilemma is, I suppose, insoluble; and particular historians must follow their own bent. In different ways these different historians have begun to give us an understanding of what happened in these two territories. Dr. A. J. Hanna has covered *The Beginnings of Nyasaland 1859–1895* (1956) and Mr. Lewis Gann in *The Birth of a Plural Society* (1958) with Northern Rhodesia, though from a somewhat different standpoint, concerned with local events rather than metropolitan ideas of these events. Dr. Roland Oliver touched on the region in his *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (1952). We are now receiving the first solidly written and analysed biographies: Dr. Oliver, again, with his biography of Sir Harry Johnston; and the present book. But what is striking about the present book is that it is a biography of an African, treated with a skill and a weight of authority which has not yet been accorded, for example, to any African important in the history of South Africa. *Independent African* is thus a milestone in historical research for all South-Central Africa, in showing that there is a mass of data available for objective historical research, by those with the enthusiastic detective skill of Shepperson and Price, on the African pioneers of the new era, just as there is on the Europeans who introduced that new era. Beyond that, I consider this book will command the admiration of every reader, even beyond wonder at its erudition, for the manner in which the study of one man in those early days of the new Nyasaland Protectorate, can illuminate the whole march of events, not only contemporary, but also in that future which we now know. It is my careful judgment that this is one of the greatest books on Africa; and in all humility I tender this tribute to the authors.

It is impossible in a review to give even an idea of the scope and sweep of this masterly book, or to indicate how far the authors went in tracing the background of the events it analyses—in Nyasaland and the Union of South Africa, in Britain and the United States of America. They have used all the official sources available, though they were not allowed access to certain key documents. They have hunted out obscure pamphlets and newspapers, personal letters and diaries. They have discussed the events with both Europeans and Africans who were involved in these. These labours of themselves,

indicating the vast mine of data that has to be tapped for authoritative histories of the region, were tremendous. The task of handling, compressing and expositing the data must have been great; and on top of all this, they have woven in a brilliant analysis to illuminate the course of events from the tribal systems before the coming of the Europeans, or even of Arab slavers, through the arrival of the first missionaries, administrators and settlers, through influences from the Union and America, to the critical days of the rising. Its aftermath is subjected then to a penetrating scrutiny. Here we learn, in this treatment of one African and one small and short rising, something of the history of all Central Africa, and indeed of the modern world.

Beyond the sources I have already listed, the authors have been at great pains to study everything that anthropologists have written on the region, including their studies of indigenous tribal systems. Hence they do not, as many colonial historians used to and some still do, treat the tribes as savage states or unorganized anarchies; nor do they regard Africans as people whose every action is motivated by fear of the strange and fear of witchcraft. For them, African societies are social systems in their own right, with their own logic to influence their members; and the motives for Africans' actions can be traced as can the motives of Europeans, to about as equally distributed rationality and irrationality. Here it is worth noting that they did not write without personal knowledge of Africa: Mr. Price, now Lecturer in African Studies at Glasgow University, was an educational missionary in Nyasaland for 18 years, and Dr. George Shepperson, Lecturer in Imperial and American History at Edinburgh University, served with the King's African Rifles in the War.

Incidentally to its story of John Cilembwe, the book is also the first study of a most interesting European, Joseph Booth, at one time atheist, then missionary, then pursuer of industrial and co-operative development among Africans, and then one of the harbingers of modern African nationalism. He had a dominant influence on Cilembwe, which is carefully traced, before Cilembwe went to America and there came under the influence of ' liberatory ' movements among American Negroes. On his return to Nyasaland, Cilembwe with Booth founded the Providence Industrial Mission, but subsequently he established his own missions. We know now, thanks to Professor Bengt Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948), a great deal about the development and organization of independent Bantu churches in the Union, and his classification of these churches into two types (the Ethiopian and the Zionist) is most valuable. He stressed in his study the attachment of Africans to land, and the desire of their independent churches for land. Perhaps because the land problem in Nyasaland is not generally acute (though it was sharp enough in Cilembwe's district), perhaps because of Booth's origin in an industrial area, the emphasis of

these churches in Nyasaland was not so much on land as on industrial development, even in those early days. We must be careful in applying Sundkler's conclusions in Central Africa; and we must hope for a Sundkler to put in perspective on a wider scale the development of African independent sects in these regions, where the European population was small and Imperial control was greater. The problems involved—the millenarianism which has been so well analysed by Professor N. Cohn in mediæval Europe (*The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 1957) and by Dr. P. M. Worsley for Melanesia (*The Trumpet Shall Sound*, 1957), seem to have been present in relatively slight degree; but they were present in the region—and the Government had earlier had troubles with a Watchtower movement. Shepperson and Price sketch in this background, and indicate new lines of study, but inevitably the story focusses more and more on the development of Cilembwe from a mild reformer into something like a social revolutionary. The crisis for him came not from the goading he felt from trouble with authorities and plantations managers over land, taxes, and the right to have church buildings, but from the First World War, when Africans were being recruited to fight against Africans. He turned against the War, and seems—or so it was alleged—to have tried to contact the German authorities, though with Maji-Maji a bare nine years away they were not enthusiastic about aiding a full-scale native rising. He hoped too that appeals to the Government would succeed in achieving his policy. But finally, as in despair, he seems to have planned not a true rising, but a gesture of a rising; unfortunately the papers of the Cilembwe-ites were destroyed by fire. A few small attacks were made on isolated Europeans, and the head of Mr. W. J. Livingstone, the manager of one plantation, was cut off and displayed in Cilembwe's fine church-building. One or two skirmishing parties went out: but the majority of the Cilembwe-ites waited for the inevitably overwhelming attack of the Government forces, comprised of European and African soldiers and European settlers. There was no overall plan of resistance: some were shot in half-hearted actions, others were executed, minor participants were punished in other ways. The rising was over in a few days, though it severely disturbed both the Government, concerned with the war with the German East African forces, and the ideas of the Europeans about what was happening among the Africans, for a time at least.

Strikingly, the leaders in this revolt were not indigenous authorities, nor on the whole were they poor and illiterate. They were among the ' new élite ', priests and teachers, educated, wearing on principle European clothes and living as far as they could in a European way, following a rather puritanical Protestant ethic. Cilembwe, thus, as the authors show, signified a major change in African politics in Nyasaland, though they trace the origins of his development further back. Here was no longer Ndebele, Ngoni, or Bemba, organized tribal resistance to European rule, in an attempt

to restore the *status quo ante*. Instead, here were men striving for their own rights in the new system, rights which they saw in terms of that system and its values, including the values of the Christianity preached to them. In signal form, Cilembwe's rising ushered in modern Nyasaland politics.

Inevitably, after the rising, the whole question of the role of missionaries and what they were doing for the Africans came under scrutiny, and the big established missions joined in severe criticism of the smaller missions—such as the Seventh-day Adventists and the various Industrial Missions. But the effects of their own work were disapproved by many Europeans.

This then is a book which analyses for us, with cogent insight, the development of conflicts over land and wages, the establishment of Government and bureaucracy, relations of masters and servants, missionary activity, relations between Nyasaland and the outside world, the characters of leading individuals involved, and many other problems. It is an example to all scholars, who will profit from studying it again and again. Beyond that, it is a sad and moving, yet exciting, story, which anyone will find of consuming interest. Those responsible for policy in Central Africa and for administration, those who live in Central Africa, should read it for the light it casts on present-day problems. It has important political lessons: but these do not fall in my province.

MAX GLUCKMAN

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Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya. By J. M. GULLICK. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 17. The Athlone Press, University of London (London, 1958). Pp. 151. 25*s*.

THIS book describes and analyses the political institutions of the western Malay States as they were in the period just before coming under British control in 1874. The author was an administrator in Malaya, but the book is based on literary sources, analysed when he was studying at the London School of Economics.

It is obviously an important contribution to knowledge of Malaya; but it is also an important reference book for all concerned with the study of political systems of which ' palace ' and dynastic struggles are an essential part. As Malayan economy was then more developed than the economy of indigenous African states, this study gives additional insight into the effects of their relatively restricted technological and market systems. Unfortunately it is difficult for someone who does not know Malaya well to follow the argument in places, because the genealogies are not adequate, and no devices are used to make reference to them easy. Despite this difficulty, any reader who is interested in the working of politics which have high sectional rivalries, yet which remain united and feel that unity

through the charter of a myth of origin, will profit from reading this book.

MAX GLUCKMAN

Manchester University.

Shona Ritual. By M. GELFAND, C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.P. Juta and Co. Limited (1959). Pp. v + 217. 37*s.* 6*d.*

ALTHOUGH the subject matter is of great interest and importance, and there is an urgent need to record material such as presented here, a number of points detract seriously from the value of Dr. Gelfand's book as a contribution to African ethnography. Coming after the much better organized and presented material of Dr. Gelfand's previous book, *Medicine and Magic of the Mashona* (1955), this work is scrappy and repetitive. M. Hannan S.J. fortunately tells us in the Foreword that the author is making no attempt at an analysis of his material, although he ' succumbs here and there to that urge to theorize which all of us feel '. For where Dr. Gelfand does deviate from his original intention he simply inserts a number of speculations with no reference whatsoever to the numerous works on related and similar topics which are available, written by social anthropologists. Thus, in the book, admittedly ethnographical, the author goes so far in ridding himself of any analytical interest, even at a low level, that he ceases to have a proper framework on which to arrange his large amount of material. This leads to considerable confusion and irrelevancy under such chapter headings as ' The Tribal Tutelary Spirit ', ' Drought and Famine ', ' The Muroyi (Witch) ', ' Marriage ', ' Death ', etc.

Thus because there is a poison ordeal which is used in pointing out a witch the author deals with this together with the boiling water ordeal to discover an adulterer or a thief, all under the same heading ' the Muroyi (Witch) ' (pp. 165–7). Also, a description of the installation ceremonies of a chief is given under the chapter heading ' Death ', and the sub-heading ' The Covering and Burial of a Shona Chief ' (pp. 201–3 and 205–6).

As this book is claimed to be simply a description of facts, one must assess the accuracy of the description. On the point of his methodology, Dr. Gelfand states in his Preface that to record these facts he ' employed the same technique that is used in the investigation of a sick patient—namely to interrogate very closely all concerned with an illness and then to carry out a detailed inspection of the subject himself '. On reading the book, however, one is given the impression of a unique blend of detailed observation on the one hand, and reliance on one informant's description, without verification, on the other, overshadowed by the author's own subjectivity. This naturally mars the objective accuracy of the material, and it can be seen in such statements as: ' Practically every African who attends [traditional religious ceremonies] is one who, while he may have been

to a village school or mission, can hardly speak English. He is still a rural African, quite content with his lot and wishing to be left alone with his spiritual world' (p. 12). Also disconcerting is the fact that one is launched into the book with the assurance that the author is describing . . . 'in detail and for the first time, religious and ritual practices of a people with whom he has been in contact for twenty years' . . . and in whom he has presumably shown considerable interest, in the face of the fact that he does not know the language.

The major part of the book is concerned with a description of the Chaminuka cult and its associated rituals; the cult of the great *mhondoro* or tribal spirit. The present medium (*svikiro*) of this spirit, Muchetera, has given Dr. Gelfand an interesting historical account of the cult and previous mediums, and Chapter III is one of the best in the book. Even the description of the Chaminuka ceremonies, however, is marred by inconsistency in style and insertion of vernacular words. Take, for example, 'The advice was: "For this year you will eat *Hacha* and *Uchi*"' (p. 23). Except for a vague reference to 'honey' and 'fruit' in the previous paragraph there is no indication of what *Hacha* and *Uchi* mean, and the non-Shona speaking reader is left in doubt as to what the author is referring to. (There is no glossary of Shona words in the book.)

The author's lack of acquaintance with the usages of descriptive words acceptable to the social scientist also leads to considerable confusion. One gets such statements as: 'When a community is faced with a problem, the medium is not approached by the whole village but by a small deputation of four or five men chosen by the people' (p. 20). What he means by 'community', the 'village' or the 'people' we are not told by Dr. Gelfand. This vagueness also completely confuses his whole discussion of witches (pp. 162–9) where the author shows no appreciation of the distinctions between witchcraft, sorcery and magic, and claims that *uroyi* is poisonous medicine when in fact it is what is inherently possessed by the witch to harm other people.

One is further led to doubt the accuracy of Dr. Gelfand's material when one comes across lapses in even the simplest descriptive interpretation. At the end of the text and translation of a liturgy spoken during a Chaminuka ceremony at which Dr. Gelfand was present (p. 55), there are two sentences the translations of which are as follows: 'Here is the food of all the black people and the white person. There is no one who is chosen to be told to eat. It is the doctor of the black person as well as the white' (p. 58). As Dr. Gelfand does not discuss the text at all, he does not mention or even note the obvious reference to his own presence at the ceremony.

Many mistakes also appear in the book. The Vakaranga and the Vazezuru are referred to as tribes (p. 181), when they are actually linguistic groupings; the word *lobola* (p. 181) does not occur in Shona, but has been adopted as *rovoro*; mistakes and inconsistencies

in orthography are numerous: Varozvi and VaRozvi appear on the same page (p. 201), together with Mashona, MaZezuru and VaZezuru, while Murozvi and MuRozvi occur in the same paragraph (p. 203).

Due to these examples (and many more occur) one cannot but be suspicious of the accuracy of the material presented in this book, and the 'other students' who, it is suggested in the book, should analyse it, will find it difficult to know what to rely on in this mass of detailed description.

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Manioc in Africa. By WILLIAM O. JONES. Food Research Institute, Stanford University (1959). Pp. ix + 315. $6.75.

THE book gives an account of how cassava ('Manioc') was introduced into Africa and how it spread to become an important crop to 65 per cent of Tropical Africa's population. A useful review of information on growth and yield of cassava is given. The toxicity and economic uses of cassava are also discussed.

Cassava has a low protein content but has a high calcium and vitamin C content. It is a good supplier of food energy. Both tubers and leaves can be eaten. Cassava is a convenient crop because the field can be used for storage by leaving the tubers in the ground until they are required. It can give good tuber yields even in poor soils. This may be the reason why in various farming systems cassava is planted after cereal crops and is the last crop before the field is abandoned. The cost of growing the crop is low. As a result, the possibility of utilizing it in animal nutrition has been suggested.

The methods of processing cassava naturally differ in various parts of Africa. Flour and a range of different kinds of meal are the end products. Information is given on the manufacture of starch.

In East Africa a great deal of work has been done by Dr. Storey and his colleagues on the breeding of cassava for resistance to mosaic virus. This work is not mentioned. It is a surprising omission since the disease is known to reduce yield considerably.

Glimpses into the sociological background of the cassava-growing population enrich the narrative.

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An Elementary Grammar of Cibemba. By GEO. W. SIMS. Mansa Mission, Fort Rosebery, Northern Rhodesia (Basutoland, 1959). Pp. 227. 15*s.*

AT the outset I must concede that I am not a fit and proper person to review this grammar as Sims states categorically in the first sentence

of his preface that it is not intended for professional linguists. ' This book,' he says, ' is not for grammarians.' He has aimed at producing a more comprehensive work than those already in existence, with a view to teaching the man-in-the street enough Bemba to be able to converse with local Africans with a measure of comprehension.

Since I cannot strictly speaking claim to be a member of the general public in this context, I have taken the step of canvassing the opinions of those for whom the book was compiled. In order to formulate questions destined to stimulate discussion on this grammar I have drawn upon my experience of teaching Bemba to similar members of the community at London University prior to their departure for Northern Rhodesia.

As a result of my enquiries I am happy to act as spokesman for the man-in-the-street in expressing the opinion that Sims has succeeded in his aim, and in conveying to him congratulations on his new grammar.

We have now in one excellently produced, stiff-backed and durable volume a fairly comprehensive instruction manual dealing with pronunciation and grammar and concluding with 65 pages of graduated exercises. It is in fact a consolidation of Lammond's *Lessons in Bemba* and Sims's own *Supplement to* ' *Lessons in Bemba* ' with the addition of much extra material. Apart from the welcome inclusion of many exercises and the sound teaching device of frequently repeating certain examples, the two main innovations are the breaking-up of words by means of hyphens, and the indication of long vowels by a diacritic mark. However, to quote the author's own words (p. 11), ' Attempts at writing the language phonetically have been made, but there are inconsistencies in all printed work. A feeble effort at writing the language more accurately has been made in this book.'

Nevertheless, various informants have indicated to me that all is not well with Bemba teaching in Northern Rhodesia in so far as available grammars are concerned. All agree that certain improvements have been made, but some consider that still greater progress must be made in the presentation of Bemba to learners (many of whom have no personal instructor) before they can approach the language with confidence. In passing, however, it should be realized that under no circumstances could the complications of Bemba be simplified so as to make it as eminently assimilable as Swahili and Nyanja.

All my informants were agreed that Bemba is a language in the learning of which the beginner needs all the help he can possibly be given! Teachers however do not agree on what is the best way of helping the learner. This is not surprising as teachers have different linguistic backgrounds, while the learners' linguistic habits are even more varied. The latter might be Europeans with or without previous knowledge of Bantu languages, or non-Bemba speaking Africans who are trying to obtain a language qualification,

or even Bemba who wish to study the grammatical structure of their mother-tongue.

Ideally there should be a separate Bemba *teaching* grammar aimed at each category of learner. In addition, for academic purposes there should be a *descriptive* reference grammar setting forth in a scientific manner all aspects of the structure of the language. The relationship between a descriptive grammar and a teaching grammar may be likened to that existing between a set of photographs of an intricate mechanism and the set of diagrams specially drawn to teach the functions of that mechanism and their interaction so that one might ultimately construct such a mechanism for everyday use. I am speaking however of an ideal treatment such as few languages ever receive, for a variety of practical reasons—some of which are stated by Sims in his preface: 'This book . . . has been compiled while the author was in charge of a busy mission station understaffed, and when he had passed the biblical allotted span of life'.

However, certain methods of systematizing Bemba in all locally produced grammars could with great profit be re-examined in the light of present-day experience. Pressure of space precludes a detailed discussion of these matters, but I would like to record a few 'complaints' which are frequently heard from students of Bemba. Many of them relate to the orthography of vernacular literature:

(*a*) 'It is supposed to be written phonetically, but when I pronounce it as written, the Africans often put in a long vowel, e.g. they say *baataata* when it is written *batata*.'

(*b*) 'The way they spell things all split up and with the vowels changing all the time makes me spend hours looking in the dictionary for words that do not exist. I thought phonetic spelling was supposed to make the language easier to learn.'

(*c*) 'Why do they omit the initial vowel in print and change the vowel at the end of the preceding word?'

(*d*) 'I expect this is easy enough for the Bemba to read and understand, but it's very hard on a beginner.'

(*e*) 'Although Bemba is my mother-tongue, before I dare read out the lessons at the service I have first to consult my English Bible so that I do not give the wrong meaning to some words.'

(*f*) 'I think that those nine noun classes are enough to put anyone off. Class 5 is the worst of the lot. Why call all those different prefixes Class 5 when they have different concords in the singular?'

(*g*) 'My clerk told me that *cisote cisuma* could mean "a good hat", "It is a good hat" and "the hat is good", but I noticed that sometimes he changed his pronunciation of the prefixes. Does this mean that the words are wrongly spelt?'

(*h*) 'The latest Bemba grammar says that each noun class has its special preposition, whereas Lammond says that the prepositions are *pa*, *ku* and *mu*. In any case, how *can* a preposition "agree" with a noun?'

(*i*) 'Sims has a chapter on conditional sentences but I can only find what our classics master would have called unfulfilled conditional, operative and concessive sentences in it. There are no open conditional sentences there, such as: "If you look on the shelf, you will find the book."'

(*j*) 'Why must they have all these different tenses? Do they use all of them? Do we have to learn them all?'

In order to comment on these observations I must now abandon the rôle of spokesman for the man-in-the-street, and speak as a 'grammarian'.

It would seem from (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) that the time is ripe for a grammar which shows clearly the shape of all *basic* linguistic components and the rules for assembling them so that the learner may emulate the sounds made by the native speaker. If examples in a grammar are recorded in a manner calculated to imitate the spoken word, then the learner does not have before his eyes a stable representation of the linguistic components. When a word (or even part of a word) appears in a bewildering variety of shapes it is difficult to identify. This involves the learner in much unproductive effort and undermines his confidence. Strange as it may seem, the conventional spelling of Bemba with sound changes, contractions, cohesions or elisions already written into the orthography, may originally have been adopted to help the uninitiated with his pronunciation. Whatever may be the reason, many Europeans feel that, far from facilitating the study of Bemba it complicates it. They consider it 'unfair' that they should have to extricate the components of a sentence from the conventional spelling before they can identify and translate them. Granted that they have to perform a similar mental manœuvre when they hear Bemba spoken, yet this is not a valid reason for making the initial steps in the written language any more difficult than is absolutely necessary.

They feel that it would be more simple to deal with words written systematically in their full *basic* forms so that they themselves could make the appropriate sound changes as they read out the sentence. After all, they argue, this is the traditional way of doing things in most languages which have been written for centuries. In the French words *les femmes*, *les hommes*, for example, no-one would dream of spelling the plural definite article in a variety of ways, although the phonetic rendering would be [lefam, lezom], Neither would they spell *femmes* as *fam*, *fams*, *famz* in the examples *voici les femmes*, *les femmes sont ici*, *les femmes ont de l'argent*, although it would be pronounced thus. If this method of orthography is successful in French and countless other languages, there is no reason why it should not succeed in Bemba.

However, while spelling should be clear, consistent and dictated by the *basic* shape of a word, it should also endeavour to imitate the actual sounds of the spoken word in so far as this is possible without infringing the canon of basic shape. This is especially important in the spelling of loan words. Thus, if for example we decide that in Bemba *u* shall represent the vowel in English *pull*, and *ū* or *uu* the vowel in English *rude*, it is incorrect to spell the Bemba word for 'spoon' as *spoon*. It should be *supūni* or *supuuni*. Similarly the Bemba for 'compound' should be written *Kompaundi* and not *Kompound*.

We must however also consider the desires of the person who speaks Bemba as his mother-tongue. For the most part *they* do not appear to find the present orthography inconvenient, although where the subject matter is less commonplace it seems that the spelling proves inadequate (cf. complaint (*e*) above). The meaning of the written language however would be rendered far less ambiguous were *all* long vowels to be regularly indicated. The most reliable method of doing this is to write two vowels for a long vowel, thus *aa*, since diacritic marks (ā or â) are more vulnerable to inadvertent omission than an extra letter. Apart from this minor improvement there would probably be some reluctance on the part of the Bemba to depart from the conventional spelling unless, as has happened elsewhere in the world, the departure became symbolic of some great non-linguistic upheaval.

Turning from orthographical matters to criticisms of present usage in the systematization of grammatical structure, it is evident from the frequently encountered complaint (*f*), that students are not rebelling at the *number* of grammatical classes, but at the way in which they have been *numbered*. From the days of the earliest grammars there has been a marked tendency among non-professional linguists to group singular and plural prefixes together and to indicate this alternation of prefixes by a single Class number, e.g. mu-/ba-= Class 1, regardless of the excellent example set by some of the earlier missionary-linguists in southern Africa who numbered each *agreement pattern* separately. Thus, in their system if a noun is always followed by a certain pattern of concording (or agreeing) prefixes, this agreement pattern is given a number. The plural agreement pattern is given a separate number which is generally one higher than the corresponding singular Class number, e.g. mu- (Class 1)/ba- (Class 2). Each pattern is called a *Class* and each singular/plural alternance of agreement is termed a *Two-Class Gender*. Although this practice has the effect of bringing the number of Classes in Bemba to eighteen (including pa-, ku- and mu-) it is greatly to be preferred to the prevailing system since each Class is a clearly numbered entity and does not have to be disengaged from a strange, heterogeneous group such as is constituted by the conventional Bemba Class 5.

This system is used internationally by professional Bantuists

because it is so simple and so unlikely to lead to confusion where intricate linguistic phenomena are under investigation. Furthermore it has been uniformly applied by them to the grammatical structure of all known Bantu languages. It is invaluable in Comparative Bantu research.

In Bemba the Noun Classes have been systematized as follows: 1/2 umu-/aba-; 3/4 umu-/imi-; 5/6 i-, ili-/ama-; 7/8 ici-/ifi-; 9/10 in-/in-; 11/6 ulu-/ama-; 11/10 ulu-/in-; 12/13 aka-/utu-; 14/6 ube-/ama-; 15/6 uku-/ama-; 16 pa-; 17 ku-; 18 mu-.

The prefixes quoted for Classes 16, 17 and 18 are really *extra* noun prefixes and not true noun prefixes. Some words never appear in the singular and some are not found in the plural. These are said to be in a One Class Gender and are referred to by their appropriate Class number. Where a noun has an agreement pattern which is characteristic of a certain noun Class, but does not itself have the appropriate noun prefix for that Class, it is considered to be in a sub-division of that Class (i.e. a *Sub-Class*) and is so labelled, e.g. supuuni/baasupuuni 'spoon(s)', Class 1a/2a.

It will be noted that the prefixes are quoted with their initial vowel. Many times in the conventional orthography the initial vowel is omitted. Rarely is vowel length indicated in the prefix of a word which may stand on its own as a sentence in itself. This causes the confusion referred to in (*f*). Thus *icisote* 'a hat' can never constitute a sentence; neither can *cisote* (the form without the initial vowel). Yet the word *ciisote* 'it is, (was or will be) a hat' is a perfectly good Bemba sentence. It has stability and is therefore called a *Stable* word. Similarly *icisuma* and *cisuma* occur in different circumstances with the meaning 'good', but *ciisuma* means 'it is etc. good'. There is in fact a series of prefixes which appear to have been neglected. Each Class has its prefix with or without initial vowel, and also a *Stable* form which means 'It is a . . .' In some Classes this is indicated by a long prefix vowel as above, whereas in others it is shown by the presence of *ni-* before the prefix without its initial vowel. Other rules apply when the prefix coalesces with the stem of a noun, e.g. umwana, 'child', mwana, 'it is a child'. The rules of inter-relationship between these forms are simple and regular in their application—which also extends to adjectives, pronouns and words denoting possession. They should be stated clearly and completely in teaching grammars. This however will be impossible unless vowel length is correctly and consistently indicated.

Complaints (*h*) and (*i*) are selected from many similar ones and centre around the involved topic of linguistic terminology. It is not surprising that different writers of Cibemba grammars should adopt different terms to describe the same category of word. It is however confusing for two authors to take a term like 'Preposition' (which in any case is not particularly apt, given the European learners' linguistic background), and apply it to widely differing

linguistic phenomena. I have had perforce to employ classical terms such as nouns, adjectives and pronouns in this review. This should not be taken to imply that I condone the use of such terms. They were first invented for use in the codification of languages whose structure differed radically from that of Bantu languages. It would now seem that several traditional terms have been applied in such a variety of ways in Bemba grammars that they no longer have any precise connotation. They are therefore long over-due for replacement by a terminology which has little or no connection with those used centuries ago. From experience I find it useful to classify and label categories of words and components as far as possible according to their potential behaviour as observed in all relevant contexts. Otherwise one has to revert to such definitions as ' A noun is the name of a place, person, thing or abstract quality ', whereas a large proportion of such words in Bemba are obviously a type of verb!

Unfortunately the thought of having to learn a new glossary of terms and how to apply them throws many people into the depths of despair, and spurs not a few to anger. It is one of the rare cases in which the anticipated acquisition of new and more efficient equipment does not arouse feelings of pleasure in the recipient.

As regards the problem voiced at (*j*), it is regrettable that there is no easy solution to the difficulties posed by the complications of the Bemba verbal system. It is often argued by students that a large proportion of these forms are never heard and should therefore be disregarded. If the first part of this statement is true, which I take leave to doubt, it is probably due to the fact that the Bemba concerned are trying to simplify their language for the benefit of the learner. In fact the tenses as they appear in current grammars have already been simplified and in some cases amalgamated with other tenses by the omission of tonal information, a feature which I cannot but approve in publications destined for the non-Specialist in Bemba.

In conclusion it should be understood that my criticisms of Bemba grammatical teaching are not aimed specifically at the grammar under review, but are general observations, based on the entire Bemba-teaching situation. This grammar is as near perfect as the present climate of linguistic thought in Rhodesia will allow it to be. Furthermore it is a great advance on preceding teaching grammars. It is felt, however, that most of the justifiable complaints of the man-in-the-street will continue to be heard for years to come unless there is a rapid modernization of linguistic approach along the lines previously mentioned. Should such a revolution take place, students of Bemba would have many difficulties removed from their path; but let us not deceive ourselves! Bemba will never become an ' easy ' language either to learn, or to compress into a grammar.

For this reason we ought all the more to applaud Mr. Sims for

his magnificent achievement in codifying so well such intractable material.

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Bongouanou, Côte d'Ivoire. By J. BOUTILLIER. Editions Berger-Levrault (Paris, 1960). Pp. 224, 16 photographs. Tables. 1900 francs.

M. BOUTILLIER, the author of the present work, is an economist with sociological training and carried out a socio-economic survey in 1955–6 among the Agni of the Ivory Coast, a matrilineal people with affinities to the Ashanti. The Agni live in the forest belt where for the last 30 years they have had a flourishing cash economy based upon cocoa and coffee. Despite a rainfall of 1300 mm. the area suffers from inadequate water supplies in the dry season. The Agni themselves total about 51,000 and the population is further swollen by 14,000–18,000 migrant labourers from further north who work on Agni plantations.

The first part of the study is devoted to the Agni themselves. The demographic position is described with supporting statistics, showing a high birth rate of 50–55 per 1,000 inhabitants annually. Fecundity reaches its height at about 24–25 years of age and declines rapidly after 34 years. Few women are childless, and about 6 live births per woman are normal. An outline of the social structure follows. Marriages are unstable and polygamy common. About 31 per cent of the women in the sample were living in polygamous marriages and 12 per cent were temporarily divorced. There is a useful account of land tenure, and it is important to note that individuals acquire land by bush-clearing without any formal allocation, since this pattern of land acquisition is evidently far more widespread in Africa than has been supposed in the past. Most of the coffee and cocoa production is from small holdings, most individuals having 2–3 hectares, and only about 12 per cent having over 10 hectares. Expansion of gardens depends upon time and man-power, and men over 40 have the largest holdings.

Family budgets are studied in detail. The average person spends over 11,000 francs CFA of which 32 per cent goes on food, 30 per cent on labour costs and tools and 7 per cent on clothing. The average individual cash income is 13,000 frs. CFA and with a household averaging 6·5 persons, a family can count on an income of 85,000 frs. CFA.

Subsistence was also studied in the survey and quantitative data including the intake of calories and vitamins is set out. 82 per cent of the daily diet is derived from yam, plantain, taro and cassava, and 5·5 per cent from meat and fish. Analysis of expenditure on food shows that an individual spends a considerable amount on

imported food, e.g. 1,170 frs. p.a. on imported meat as against 450 on local fish and meat, with a further 705 frs. on imported dried fish. More than twice as much is spent on imported drink as on local palm wine.

The effects of the cash economy include investment in improved housing, a weakening of village and lineage solidarity, and a demand for patrilineal inheritance. Attitudes to economic individualism are examined. Agni motivations and logic from the economic angle are much like those of other producers or consumers, and there is an interesting account of the results and failures of co-operative societies among them.

The latter part of the study deals in a similar manner with the immigrant labourers, and it is useful to be reminded that the phenomenon of a labour movement to the towns as found in Central Africa is paralleled in other parts of Africa with labour migration to rich rural areas. The migrants are not well integrated into Agni society. They live in strangers' sections of the Agni villages, are largely between the ages of 20 and 40, include a very high proportion without wives, and are mostly target workers. 65 per cent of the immigrants are labourers, 8 per cent are traders and 5 per cent are artisans. They tend to live in groups of a common home origin and in general immigrant is posited against Agni. The labourers change employers frequently and few are in permanent employment; they have no trades unions or syndicalism, but there are some tribal friendly societies. The lower level of immigrant incomes is analysed.

Agni reactions to the immigrants are of a defensive nature, evidenced by the residential separation and an unwillingness to let immigrants obtain land. Agni feel socially and economically superior. Religious cleavages accentuate the situation for the immigrants are Islamic, the Agni pagan or Christian. The immigrants exhibit a supertribalism rather than detribalization in their new milieu, but the immigrant tribal groups although very cohesive are also very unstable.

M. Boutillier has provided an account of a situation which is very valuable for the comparative material which it contains; he is also to be congratulated upon the lucidity with which his findings are set out.

C. M. N. White

Ministry of Native Affairs,
Northern Rhodesia.

Les Bamileke de l'Ouest Cameroun. By C. Tardits. Editions Berger-Levrault (Paris, 1960).

The Bamileke who live in the high country of the former French Cameroons close to the border of the southern British Cameroons have been much in the news of late on account of their part in the recent disorders in the area. The Bamileke problem, as it is called,

is of long standing, and M. Tardits was commissioned to make a study of it from existing archival material. This approach places a limit upon the material which the author was able to use, and must have been somewhat frustrating, since he frequently has to point to lacunae in his sources which prevent him from fully elucidating various points. The Bamileke 'problem' includes a severe pressure of population on the land and a clash of values between strongly entrenched traditional authorities and the modern generation. This clash is considered to have been accentuated by the effects of evangelization.

M. Tardits is able to assemble a good deal of data on Bamileke social and political organization, which invites comparison with and suggests affinities to the Nsaw and similar peoples of the adjacent Bamenda area of British Cameroons. The French administration made undue use of the traditional authorities which provoked growing hostility to them, and this part of the study, set out in detail, provides useful comparative material for placing alongside the dilemma of the modern chief in situations of present day Indirect Rule in British Africa. Far too little was done to create a more democratic and representative system of local government.

Pressure on the land forces large numbers of Bamileke to seek employment in Yaounde and Douala and M. Tardits is able to provide an interesting although incomplete picture of the Bamileke in the towns, where unemployment is extensive. There is no prospect of absorbing the surplus Bamileke in their existing home area, and extensive resettlement in vacant and difficult country is one inevitable solution to the land shortage.

M. Tardits is already well known for his urban study of Porto Novo in Dahomey, and it is unfortunate that the terms of his assignment in the present instance prevented his doing more direct field research. Within the limits of preparing a report based on archival material he has made the best of the data at his disposal, and despite the gaps, has provided a useful account of the social and economic factors which underlie the Bamileke problem.

C. M. N. White

Ministry of Native Affairs,
Northern Rhodesia.

Indian People in Natal. By Hilda Kuper. University of Natal Press (1960). Pp. xx + 305.

A notable gap in the ethnography of Africa is the paucity of cultural studies in the anthropological manner of the continent's non-indigenous peoples, of whom the Europeans and the Indians are the most conspicuous examples. Happily, there are signs that this situation will in time be corrected. For the Indians, some work either has been just recently completed or is now in progress (Kuper, Tandberg, Morris, Pocock, and Dotson and Dotson), and full

publication of these should provide comprehensive reports on communities in South, East, and Central Africa, within which regions the great majority of the Indian population in Africa is to be found. The volume under review is the first of these projected works to appear in full.

As most of the readers of this journal will know, Mrs. Kuper already had distinguished anthropological work on the African population behind her when she became scientifically involved with the Indians of Durban some five years ago through association with Professor Sidney Kark's Institute of Family and Community Health. This book, as the author herself acknowledges, was slanted by the concerns of the Institute toward emphasis upon the family and upon those aspects of the culture most directly related to the family, particularly religion. The work is rich in materials on family, kinship, religion, and health; it is correspondingly thinner in its treatment of economics, politics, and education. Although there are chapters on elite groups and associations, there is in general less attention given to group and interpersonal relationships than one might expect from an anthropologist trained in the British tradition.

The emphasis throughout the book is upon the cultural values which structure and flavour the everyday life of the Indian community, and the extent to which these values are the traditional ones of Hindu society will doubtless surprise many readers. Our preconception of the Indians in the Union is apt to be, I think, that they are a conglomerate group of diverse and by now quite obscure origins who have been pretty thoroughly alienated from their old culture by long residence in South Africa. That this is the common assumption is indicated by the fact that Mrs. Kuper herself seems to have shared it originally. She tells us that at the time she began her study she was not particularly interested in traditional Indian culture and assumed that she could more or less ignore it, only to find as her work progressed how strong and viable many of its elements are. The surprising strength of Hindu culture within the present-day South African Indian community is the most vivid impression left with us as we lay down the book.

Needless to say, not all traits of traditional Hinduism have survived equally. What has happened—and this fact provides Mrs. Kuper with her major theme—is a selective adaptation from the Indian cultural tradition of those traits which have proved functional within an urban (*and* South African) social setting. Thus most of the traditional functions of caste, particularly those concerned with occupational assignment and prestige differentiation, have had to go in this urban setting—as indeed they are also going in the modern city in India. Under heavy pressure, too, are the norms and values defining the traditional joint family as a social institution. On the other hand, religion, complete with such exotic phenomena as trance states and fire-walking, flourishes. Having proved functional,

it is retained and even elaborated upon beyond its strictly traditional forms. Within the social context which the Indians find themselves, religion provides a measure of security for the inherently insecure and a socially acceptable outlet for the group's multiple frustrations.

In a particularly enlightening section of her concluding chapter, Mrs. Kuper draws a comparison between Indian and African modes of adaptation to urbanization. The impact of urbanization upon the traditional African culture has been shattering: there is relatively little which the African can bring with him from his past to the city. For the Indians, there is much greater continuity between past and present. The difference, as Mrs. Kuper sees it, lies in the fact that the Indians have at their disposal a written cultural tradition of great subtlety and richness. This tradition provides values, goals, and methods for the process of selective adaptation. But above all, it provides a stable anchor for group and individual identification. However much his own behaviour differs from the ideal norms, the Indian finds comfort and reassurance in the thought that he is a direct-line heir of a great civilization.

Inevitably, *Indian People of Natal* will be the major source from which comparisons with East and Central Africa will be drawn as the work done or being done in these areas is published. These comparisons will involve, as all comparisons must, a sorting out of similarities and differences.

It will be quickly noted, of course, that the Indian population of the Union is in many respects unique. Its size alone, for example, puts it in a class by itself; a fruitful question which might be asked is how this factor of sheer size has affected its adaptation. There is also its comparatively long history and, as part and parcel of that history, the peculiar origin (within Africa) of the indentured group. Finally, we cannot forget that the political status of the South African community is unusual, and there is abundant evidence to suggest that the effects of this status have not ended at exclusion from the polling booth.

After such differences as these have been noted, there will be many opportunities to call attention to basic similarities. In my opinion these will prove upon analysis to be more numerous and more striking than the differences, although, being less obvious, they are more subtle. To take one example: does the attitude of Europeans and Africans to the Indians in the different countries of British-settled Africa vary as much as their formal political status? I doubt it. And are not many of the personal and community problems faced by Indians common to all of these territories, as well as the typical mode of approach which Indians make to their solution? Finally—to throw the picture into an even broader perspective—are not many of these problems and adjustments common to all immigrants everywhere?

Suffice it to conclude by repeating what we have said before: *Indian People of Natal* will serve for a long time in this on-going

process of description and analysis as the major source for material from the Union. And by its overall excellence and competence, it will also serve as a model and an inspiration.

F. W. DOTSON

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Affiliate, 1959–1961, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

THE Editor gratefully acknowledges receipt of the publications listed below. While every effort is made to publish reviews, no undertaking can be given that every book received will be reviewed in the Journal.

Received June 1960

A Study of the Logbara (Ma'di) Language—Grammar and Vocabulary. By J. P. Crazzolara. Oxford University Press for International African Institute (Cape Town, 1960).

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KARIBA STUDIES

'Kariba' not only signifies an immense feat of engineering and the bringing of industrial potential to a relatively undeveloped region, it also marks a sudden change in the conditions of life for human beings, and for the flora and fauna of the area. Three institutes of the Rhodesias felt that here was a unique opportunity to study scientifically the effect of these changes. They took steps, therefore, before the inundation to make a series of investigations. Their findings are to be issued as books, and as papers which might be collected later into bound volumes. Details of the publications are given below. Enquiries should be sent to Manchester University Press.

The Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga (*published*) 35*s. net*
by **E. COLSON.**

The Human Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga (*Autumn 1961*)
by **T. SCUDDER.**

The Material Culture of the Gwembe Tonga
by **B. G. R. REYNOLDS.**

The Human Biology of the Gwembe Tonga
by **P. V. TOBIAS.**

The Archaeology of the Gwembe Valley
by **J. DESMOND CLARK, R. R. INSKEEP, R. SUMMERS,** *et al.*

The Geology of Lake Kariba
by **G. BOND.**

The Zoology of the Area Scheduled for Inundation, a series of papers, including: **Ichthyology** (*Spring 1961*) 6*s. net*, *by* **P. B. N. JACKSON. Ornithology,** *by* **R. H. N. SMITHERS.**

The Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga

E. COLSON

The decision to implement the Kariba Scheme was announced in February 1955. Work commenced on the dam in August 1955 and the Gwembe Tonga, who lived in the area of inundation, had to be removed and resettled by the middle of 1959.

The Gwembe, or Valley, Tonga are a people who had for the most part remained aloof from the changing world. They had largely rejected the economic and material advancement which had so greatly changed their neighbours, and had retained more fully than any tribe in Northern or Southern Rhodesia a pre-European way of life. It was therefore considered of importance that a record of their customs should be made before they were uprooted.

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